THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS NOVEMBER 1986 $2.50

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A memo from the publisher

From time to time it is appropriate to report information about *California Journal* itself to our readers. There are two matters I'd like to share with you this month.

The first concerns a survey of our readership conducted this spring. The purpose of the survey was to gather information helpful both to the advertising sales staff and to the editor in his effort to deliver a package of articles each month that suits the needs and interests of our readers.

A random sample of 1000 subscribers was sent a three-page, 50-item questionnaire. The first insight to our readership was gained from the fact that a phenomenal 45.8 percent took the time to respond — far above the average for such a survey (and no, we didn't enclose a dollar bill as some surveys do).

Some facts about our readers: The median age is 46; two-thirds are male and two-thirds are married (not the same two-thirds); median family size is 2.5. *Journal* readers are very well-to-do: Median income is $62,717; 77 percent of our readers own their home and the median value of the home is $170,653. Educational level of our readers is extraordinary: 98 percent attended college, 87 percent have a college degree, and 45 percent have a graduate degree. And 75 percent have been involved in a public activity in the last year such as working on legislation or influencing executive branch policy-making. Political registration of our readers almost exactly mirrors that of the state: 55.6 percent Democratic, 35.2 percent Republican. The average television viewing is a low 10.6 hours per week.

It should come as no surprise, since they are paying good money for it every year, that readers like *California Journal*. Seventy-five percent have read all of the last five issues and 68 percent still have the last five issues. Readers spend an average of one-and-one-half hours reading the *Journal*. And an average of 3.69 people read each issue of the magazine for a total readership of 70,981.

What do our readers like best about the magazine? Of the six regular features rated, all were in the 3.4 to 3.95 range on a 5-point scale with "Up Front" the highest and "Rostrum" (letters to the editor) the lowest. Of six regular inserts that appear in the *Journal* periodically, the most popular was the Roster and the next most popular was the Ballot Booklet.

We then asked readers to rate a long list of subject areas covered in the magazine as "too much," "too little" or "about right." The four subjects most often mentioned as being covered too much were book reviews, lobbying, minority affairs (as you can see from the current issue, the editors view the survey as suggestive not determinative) and personality profiles. The four subjects most often mentioned as covered too little were consumer affairs, courts and judiciary, historical perspectives and local government. Over 90 percent of our readers believe the magazine is as good as or better than it was two years ago.

* * *

The second matter I'd like to report to you about is that there has been a change in the legal status of the *California Journal*. Most of you are aware that the *Journal* has been published by the non-profit California Center. Few of you know, however, that the magazine began as a for-profit in 1970 and was taken over by The Center only in late 1971.

We are pleased to announce that the magazine and its related activities are now returning to the for-profit sector. The California Center has sold the *Journal* to California Journal, Inc. CJI has been organized specifically for the purpose of operating the *Journal* in a manner consistent with its 17-year tradition of editorial independence and public service. The new owners are all people who have known the *Journal* for many years and are dedicated to its continuity.

You will note, if you compare the masthead on the next page to the one from last month, the staff of the *Journal* is continuing in place, doing the same job it has done in the past. While the *Journal*'s creditors will notice a very happy difference, readers of the magazine will note only continued growth and improvement in the months to come.

We would like to express special appreciation to the Board of Directors of The California Center and to all the directors emeriti who have nurtured the *Journal's* unique form of public-service journalism and kept it alive through difficult years.

One of the great pleasures of publishing the *Journal* for the last 17 years has been the extent to which our readers take a proprietary interest in "their" magazine. We look forward to continued personal involvement of our readers: please continue to write or call with criticisms, praise and suggestions.

Thomas R. Hoeber

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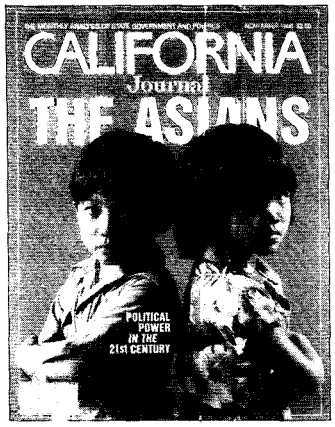

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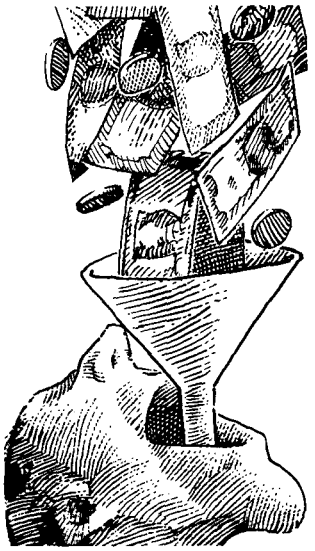

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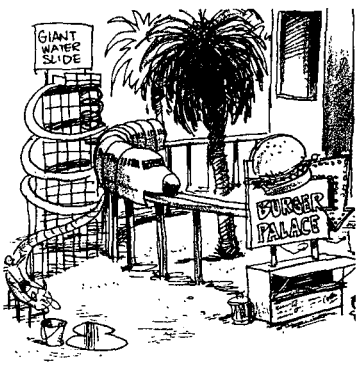

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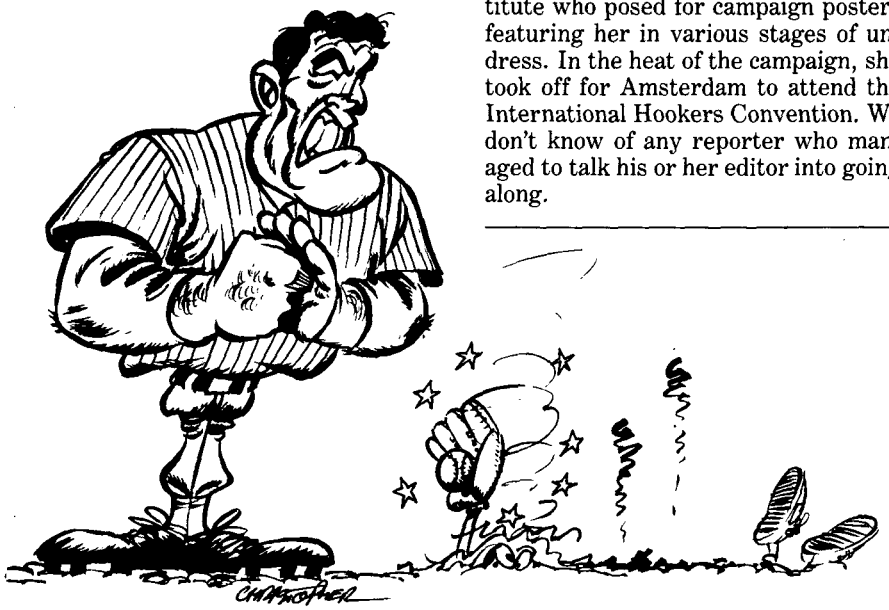
UP FRONT

How do you know who's a good legislator? Well, one way might be to examine how successful he or she is at getting bills passed. Just for the record, as complied by LegiTech (an independent vote-tracking service), in the past two-year session the champion bill-passer was Assemblyman Norm Waters, a Plymouth Democrat. Waters got his colleagues to approve 68 bills out of 110 introduced, for a batting average of 61.8 percent. In the Senate, Dan McCorquodale, Democrat from San Jose, had 63 bills passed by the Legislature out of 115 introduced, or a 54.8 percent batting average. The highest percentage of bills passed went to Democrat Robert Presley of Riverside who had 79.7 percent, or 55 of 69 bills, pass the Legislature. In the Assembly, Ceres Democrat Gary Condit had the highest percentage, 78.2, for securing passage of 43 of 55 bills. The veto champ this year was Johan Klehs, a San Leandro Democrat, who saw George Deukmejian veto 17 of the 26 he pushed through the Legislature. Gardena's Democratic Senator Ralph Dills was second with 15 vetoes. Glendora's Republican Senator H. L. "Bill" Richardson both had the fewest bills and the lowest percentage passed. He got one bill through the Legislature out of 35 introduced, a 2.9 percent approval rate. Oh, by the way, that one was vetoed.

At least some, and maybe enough, of Pat Nolan's Republican colleagues in the Assembly are prepared to vote for his ouster as minority leader — particularly if Republicans fail to make any gains on November 4th. At one point, the anti-Nolan forces were said to have had the 17 votes necessary to bump him but backed off when one member got cold feet. The leading instigator is Chico Assemblyman Stan Statham who got angry when Nolan intervened in an adjacent district primary and decided to oppose Stan's candidate. But the best guess is that Fresno's Bill Jones will be the one to replace Nolan if the *coup d'caucus* should succeed. Nolan, of course, insists he has nothing to worry about. But if that's true, why hasn't he tried to crack down on Statham who is openly challenging him? Last year he had Speaker Willie Brown strip committee assignments and office space from Dave Kelley of Hemet for a few harmless remarks about Nolan's leadership. Statham is said to have cut his own deal with Speaker Brown to protect himself, even if Nolan stays in power.

Sportsman of the Year Award to Pete "Boom Boom" Schabarum, Los Angeles county supervisor and former running back for the San Francsico 49ers. During a close championship softball game on October 6th, the 190-pound Schabarum — representing the



winning run — steamed toward home plate only to find his progress blocked by the opposing catcher. No problem for an old warhorse like "Boom Boom." Rather than evade the tag, Schabarum deliberately flattened the catcher who was knocked out by the collision. Somehow, the catcher held on to the ball, and Schabarum was out. (His team eventually won 8-7 in 10 innings.) The catcher? A 5-foot-1, 50-year-old grandmother named Margie Morales.

The boys (and girls) on the bus finally found a campaign trip worth taking when the backers of Proposition 65, the toxic-safety initiative on the ballot, staged a "Hollywood Clean Water Caravan" that featured "more than forty Hollywood stars" taking a three-day bus tour to support the measure. Thanks to a phalanx of press, discerning readers found out that Jane Fonda eats Big Macs, that a Highway Patrolman won't ticket you if Morgan Fairchild bats her baby blues at him, and that Whoopi Goldberg "don't want no shit" in her drinking water. The noted political journal, *People Magazine*, even sent its own photographer.

The second-best campaign trip was staged by Norma Jean Almodovar — the libertarian candidate for lieutenant governor. You remember Norma Jean, the former police officer-turned-prostitute who posed for campaign posters featuring her in various stages of undress. In the heat of the campaign, she took off for Amsterdam to attend the International Hookers Convention. We don't know of any reporter who managed to talk his or her editor into going along.

The worst campaign-season trip was taken by Secretary of State March Fong Eu who chugged through much of the state in a red, white and blue van dubbed the "Votemobile." Eu's spokeswoman, Caren Daniels-Meade, insists the trip was not campaigning. Eu was only trying to encourage voter registration.

Best mind-trips of the campaign season were taken by the state Senate's majority leader — Democrat Barry Keene of Benicia — and minority leader — Jim Nielsen of Rhonert Park. Each has spent some time trying to psych the other out by pretending each was going to finance an opponent against the other in this year's election. Then, with about three weeks to go in the campaign, a member of Nielsen's staff — who before that had been a member of Keene's staff — made a late-night entry

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into Keene's office, let in by a custodian who knew she worked in the Capitol. Keene raised the spectre of "dirty tricks" and had the place swept for electronic bugs. Nielsen, however, said he thought Keene was the one engaged in campaign espionage. One newspaper reported that the staffer went back for some hand cream she had left behind. We, however, prefer to believe the report in another newspaper which speculated that she and her male companion went into Keene's plush offices — decorated with turn-of-the-century antiques — to engage in a "romantic" escapade. Beats campaign spying any day.

In the waning days of the legislative session, Republican Senator William Campbell missed a few days. He reportedly was off in New York and elsewhere raising money for his controller's campaign against Assembly Democrat Gray Davis who has made some political capital out of his drive to put the pictures of missing children on milk cartons. When Campbell finally reappeared on the Senate floor, he was forced to take a good-natured ribbing from his colleagues. One said he was so worried that "We were thinking about asking Gray Davis to put your picture on a milk carton." Senator Henry Mello, with a nod toward Campbell's substantial girth, added that "at least while you were gone we saved $75 a day in per diem and $100 a day in food bills."

(Bob Holmes, Sacramento)

On November 1st, the governor of California will have left a major cabinet post vacant for one year, or since David Swoap resigned as secretary of Health and Welfare on November 1, 1985.

Economic up-date: In September we reported that a suggestion that the state print up "things to do today" note pads for employees would have cost the state $7.50 per 50-sheet pad — or more

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than $94 million, according to a Department of General Services estimate. Oops. Seems whoever did the calculations put a decimal point in the wrong place. According to state printer Donald Male, the pads would've cost only about 50 cents each. The idea was rejected anyway, because the state already provides several items that serve the same purpose.

We all know politics costs money, but . . . according to a bulletin from the California Grocers Association, the group's lobbyist, during the first two weeks of August (that's the time when the Legislature is nearing the close of its session and there are lots of special-interest bills yet to be considered) 45 invitations arrived from lawmakers anxious to collect campaign cash. The tickets averaged $500 each, and it would have cost nearly $25,000 to attend all the events, according to association president Don Beaver.

When we last left Elizabeth Hill, the state's new legislative analyst, she was overtly pregnant. Well, shortly after our story ran, Hill gave birth to a baby girl — Kristina Marie, 9 pounds, 8 ounces, and 21 inches. Daughter and analyst are doing fine, and Hill will be back at work in time to savage the governor's next budget.

Hold the onions. First there were drive-thru restaurants, then banks. Now, in Bakersfield, we have drive-thru political parties. Kern County Republicans decided to put their headquarters in a former bank that came equipped with a drive-up window. Using the window will help voter registration efforts, reasoned party chairwoman Martha Fallgatter who also hopes it will bring "a little excitement and creativity" to the Grand Old Party.

(S. Scott Forter, Bakersfield)

Mea culpa. In last month's *Journal* we incorrectly reported that San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp, who's running as an independent for the state Senate against Assemblyman Lou Papan, was once a registered Republican. He wasn't. He was a registered Democrat until about 18 months ago. In addition, we said Kopp ran for mayor of San Francisco in 1981. It was 1979.

While we're in the confessional mood, we might also note that John Byouk, the loser to Jack Dugan in the

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5th Assembly District's Democratic primary, is from Roseville and not from Placerville.

Mike Curb is so intent on clinging to George Deukmejian that he's actually started to resemble the governor. The evidence: a recent newsletter featuring a unity photo of statewide Republican candidates. The candidate standing third from the left looks exactly like Deukmejian, but the caption says it's Curb. The candidate next in line looks like Curb, but the caption says it's Bill Campbell. No doubt about the accuracy. The newsletter was published by Curb's campaign.

Who says money doesn't buy access? Certainly not Rudy Boschwitz, Republican U.S. senator from Minnesota. Boschwitz isn't due for reelection until 1990, but he's already out raising campaign dough with a unique scheme. Send Boschwitz $1000 now, and he'll send you special "access stamps" which you can affix to all future correspondence with his office. "Accessed" letters receive immediate, personal attention and are not answered with the standard form letter. How long before this idea is imported to California? On second thought, it would be formalizing the obvious.

(Bob Stern, Los Angeles)

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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— Edward R. Murrow

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Editor's note: This is the first of an occasional series of articles on the political clout of California's minority populations. The second in this series, on the state's Hispanic population, will appear early next year.

Calligraphy by Gay Lum

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California's Asians

Power from a growing population

By JUDY TACHIBANA

Asian Americans in California will alter the course of the state's politics both as contributors and voters — and as politicians themselves — if they can rally their numbers and money around common issues.

The number of Asian Americans in California is booming — and they are expected to continue as one of the fastest growing minorities in the state (see following story). By the turn of the century, Californians of Asian ancestry are predicted to number more than three million, or nearly 11 percent of the total population, making them the state's second largest ethnic minority group behind the Hispanic population.

As a whole, Asian Americans rank above the average Californian in education and family income. And during the last decade an increasing number have donated to political campaigns.

Candidates and the major political parties are awakening to their potential.

The Asian-American community in California has grown and changed since the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. Japanese Americans, who outnumbered other Asian Americans in 1970, will become a smaller segment as Filipino and Southeast Asian populations — who are sorely underrepresented politically today — are expected to explode in the next 20 years.

continued on next page

Judy Tachibana is a reporter for the Sacramento Bee.

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舊金山

Photo by Cindy Chan

Unlike earlier Asian immigrants who entered the United States as laborers with dreams of making quick money and returning to their homelands, many newer Asian immigrants are educated professionals who plan to stay. Some are beginning to participate in the political system of a country where they could not even speak the language a decade ago. Others, particularly refugees and Pacific Islanders, are still struggling to survive. Some come with money; others are reaching an economic plateau from which they can afford to give to political causes. They have already demonstrated a willingness to spend on political campaigns by donating funds disproportionate to their numbers.

Big bucks

Like other special-interest groups, Asian Americans want something tangible for their money. To this point, Asian Americans mostly have been giving individually. The Asian-American community as a whole does not benefit, leaders complain.

"We have not yet learned how to use our money and power effectively. If you give some money, you should get something in return," said Tong S. Suhr, president of the Korean American Bar Association and former member of the state Real Estate Advisory Commission. "There have been no meaningful returns — a few appointments to state commissions, but that's more for decoration rather than substance."

Henry Der, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action in San Francisco agreed. "For individuals who give big bucks — especially in the Chinese community — they may get an appointment or a favorite project passed by the Board of Supervisors," Der said. "But in the long run, it has little impact on affecting the welfare of the community."

But give they do. For example:

- Seventy-five percent of Secretary of State March Fong Eu's campaign money comes from Asian Americans — mainly Chinese — compared to 25 percent when she started out in politics. Several Chinese Americans have made large donations of more than $10,000, but most range from several hundred to several thousand dollars from hundreds of donors from all parts of the state.
- In the early stages of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's 1986 campaign for governor, two $1000-a-seat dinners given by Japanese and Chinese Americans in Los Angeles each netted $50,000. Bradley campaign staffer Mary Nichols estimates about 10 percent of the mayor's donations come from Asian Americans statewide, compared to their less than 6 percent of the population.
- Asian Americans gave between $200,000 and $300,000 to Republican Mike Antonovich's campaign in the primary for the U.S. Senate.

Many Asian Americans appear to be swayed by neither political party. Compared to the general Los Angeles population, where about 10 percent decline to state a party, 15 percent of the Asian-American electorate declared no party, according to research by UCLA professor Don Nakanishi.

In some Los Angeles ethnic groups — Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Asian Indian — 20 percent do not choose a party, the study showed. And 28 percent of San Francisco's Chinese-American population declined to state a party, according to a 1983 registration study by Grant Din, who conducted research similar to Nakanishi's.

Party disloyalty is likely to grow. A whopping 30 percent of Asian immigrants who became citizens in Los Angeles aligned themselves with no party, according to information supplied by the Los Angeles County registrar of voters. A number of immigrants are registering as Republicans because of the perceived anti-Communist stand and conservative views on social issues.

Although their numbers are increasing, they do not necessarily translate into votes. The state's two most heavily populated Asian-American areas — Los Angeles and San Francisco — have a lower percentage of registered Asian-American voters than the general population, the studies show.

Coupled with the dramatic increase in the population of Asian Americans in California, Asian Americans themselves appear to have entered the center stage of the state's political scene:

- Michael Woo became the first and only Asian American ever elected to the Los Angeles City Council last year. Woo refused to be bulldozed out of the base of his district and instead struck a compromise in the city's redistricting battle last summer (see story, page 538).
- San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein in August appointed Thomas Hsieh to the Board of Supervisors, the only Chinese American on the 11-member board in a city with a population that is 12 percent Chinese American and about a quarter Asian American (see story, page 542).
- John Kashiwabara was appointed in August by Governor Deukmejian to the California State University Board of Trustees — the first Asian American to sit on the policy-making board.
- An increasing number of Asian Americans serve on school boards and local offices throughout the state and have been appointed to the bench, boards and commissions.

Underrepresented

But Asian-American leaders unanimously agree that Asian Americans remain underrepresented in the political arena.

There has been no Asian-American in the state Legislature since Al Song left the Senate in 1980 and Paul Bannai

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and Floyd Mori lost their Assembly seats in 1978.

Although the Los Angeles area has the greatest number of Asian Americans in the continental U.S., none has ever been elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles Board of Education or the Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees. Nor has Southern California had an Asian-American representative in Congress since East Indian Dalip Singh Saund, who migrated from the Punjab in 1919, served three terms in the U.S. Congress as a representative from the Imperial and Riverside areas from 1957 to 1963.

And although two Americans of Japanese ancestry represent California in the U.S. Congress and a woman of Chinese ancestry has been California's secretary of state for three terms, in general, Asian-American representation has been spotty.

In no district is the Asian-American population so large that any candidate could win simply by wooing the Asian-American voter. Congressmen Robert Matsui and Norman Mineta do not represent districts with heavy Asian-American populations. But as Governor George Deukmejian received support from Armenians throughout the state when he represented only Long Beach, both Matsui and Mineta receive statewide support from Asian Americans because their presence in Congress is considered so symbolically important. Only someone of Japanese ancestry could have testified on the reparations issue as authentically as Matsui and Mineta who themselves experienced forced incarceration during World War II.

Asian Americans may have succeeded in primarily Anglo districts because they may be viewed as a "model minority."

"But fears of the old 'yellow peril' are still alive and well, as the preference for Asian high-technology products and automobiles is blamed for domestic unemployment and general economic malaise," said historian and civil-rights advocate Nadine Hata. "Americans of Asian and Pacific descent are not immune to rising resentment."

There is a thin line between that "too successful" image and the perception of the threatening "yellow peril." It is that negative image — perhaps more subtle today than it was when American nativists at the turn of the century and into the 1920s were screaming to halt immigration — which may hinder the progress of Asian Americans in California politics in the coming years.

Non-Asians often lump together everyone of Asian ancestry, despite their distinct — and sometimes antagonistic — historical and cultural backgrounds.

But "Asian American" is an umbrella term which encompasses a diverse group of people whose history in California influenced their lack of involvement in politics until recently. Immigrants from China could not become naturalized citizens until 1943; those from Japan had to wait until 1952, observed Ron Wakabayashi of the Japanese American Citizens League.

For most of this century, Asian immigration was severely limited by a national-origins quota system under which the largest number of immigrant admissions went to those groups who were racially and ethnically close to the majority population in the country.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 opened the doors to Asian immigrants by raising the quota to 20,000 annually with preference given to reuniting families and to those with occupational preference. Twenty years ago immigration from Asia was 6 percent of the total; today it is 40 percent.

The composition of the Asian-American communities in California began to shift as educated professionals with marketable skills immigrated from the Philippines, Korea, East India, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Shanghai.

After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Southeast Asians from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia poured into the U.S., particularly California. Today three out of five of the Asians in America are newcomers.

金山

Chinese

Asian immigration began with the 1849 gold rush when young Chinese men — mainly from southern Canton — joined immigrants from all over the world who came to California looking for the "gold mountain." Like their fellow immigrants, they were met with discrimination.

But unlike their European counterparts, Chinese were slapped with formal discrimination defined in local, state and federal laws. For example, the state Supreme Court decided in 1854 that Chinese — in addition to blacks, mulattos and Indians — could not testify in court against a white person.

The racism against Chinese immigrants peaked when Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which halted their immigration for more than 60 years.

Not allowed to bring in wives or families, many returned to their homeland. From a peak of 107,000 in 1890, their

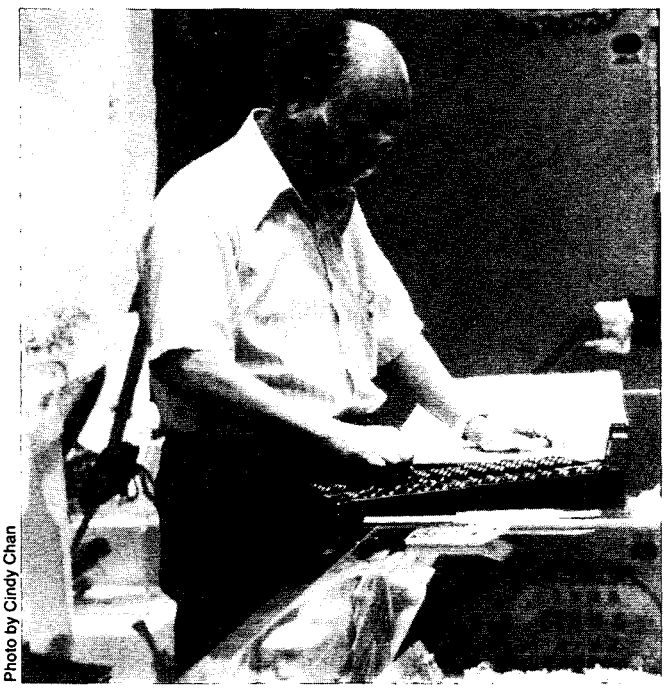

Photo by Cindy Chan

numbers dropped to 62,000 in 1920. But after the 1965 immigration reform, a constant flow of Chinese immigrants entered the country.

Today, one portion of the Chinese-American community is made of families who have been in California for generations and have, to a great degree, assimilated into the population. But they are now being joined by a new group of immigrants.

Chinese-American representation is becoming more visible with Woo in Los Angeles, Hsieh in San Francisco and Eu at the state level. Party organizations, both Democratic and Republican, are active with splinter groups accommodating differing viewpoints. Chinese Americans, particularly in San Francisco, aggressively seek appointments to boards and commissions and run for local office.

A growing number of Chinese Americans contribute to candidates. San Francisco's Chinese-American Democratic Club counted 900 Asian surnames, mostly Chinese, of individuals who donated at least $100 between 1984 and 1986 to races for local supervisors and mayor and for the secretary of state, said Harold Yee, spokesman for the club.

Chinese Americans for (Art) Agnos raised more than $61,000 for the San Francisco assemblyman in 1984, according to campaign statements filed with the secretary of state's

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office.

But while Chinese Americans make up about 12 percent of that city's population, they comprise less than 6 percent of the city's registered voters and remain underrepresented, community leaders contend.

Some cannot register because they are not citizens. Others do not register because they believe they will be called for jury duty, because of fears of government which they bring from their homeland, or because they don't understand the system. Some blame the many leaders for squabbling among themselves and not uniting the different segments of the community. They say Chinese Americans are held back politically because there is too much in-house fighting.

Others point out that it is natural to have varying views and that it is healthy to have several Chinese Americans running for the same office.

"I don't think it's any more divisive than what's in the white, black or Hispanic community," Der said. "There's diversity because there are different socio-economic classes within the Chinese-American community."

Immigrants — Tom Hsieh, former Monterey Park Mayor Lily Chen and San Francisco supervisor candidate Julie Tang are among them — are openly courting and organizing the constant flow of new immigrants, many of whom go into small businesses, to keep the older Chinese-American community from becoming too comfortable and getting them actively involved in politics, Yee said.

While those Chinese Americans who declare a party generally choose the Democrats, in both Los Angeles and San Francisco, many decline to state a party. Democrats outnumber Republicans 42 percent to 36 percent in Los Angeles and 49 percent to 21 percent in San Francisco, according to the Nakanishi and Din studies.

Republicans hope to recruit more of the Chinese, whose population will increase from 395,000 to 591,000 by the end of the century, because they believe that the party's philosophy is in line with the Chinese emphasis on individual hard work, less government interference and a better business climate, said Dennis Wong, founding president of the statewide California Chinese American Republican Association.

But the Chinese-American Republicans do not hesitate to cross party lines when they find an Asian-American candidate to their liking, Wong observed. Individually members of Wong's group supported and donated to, for example, Democrats Norm Mineta and S.B. Woo — the lieutenant governor of Delaware.

In the Los Angeles suburb of Monterey Park, which has the state's highest percentage of Chinese-American voters

Michael Woo – Los

Michael Woo, who last year became the first and only Asian American ever elected to the Los Angeles City Council, symbolizes the crest of a new wave of Asian Americans interested and effective in California politics. Woo is young, bright and articulate. And, while supported by the Asian-American community, he has proven that he can be elected in a district that is only 5 percent Asian-American.

He has grappled with and says he has learned to balance his responsibilities to his constituents and to those of Asian ancestry who look to him as a role model and as the most visible and highest-ranking Asian-American official in Southern California.

Although Asian Americans represent only 6 percent of the population of the City of Los Angeles, more than a half-million live in the county. Ironically, both Asian-American congressmen from California come from northern areas of the state. Not since Al Song and Paul Bannai served in the state Legislature in the 1970s have Southern California Asian Americans had a representative with Woo's visibility.

And visible he was last summer when Los Angeles struggled over a court-mandated redistricting plan. Woo, 35, made daily headlines as his political career teetered daily during the battle. His eight years as a political understudy to state Senator David Roberti paid off. A year after being elected, Woo made a successful quantum leap *from new kid on the council to veteran politician.*

Although his political opponents may have thought he would be an easy mark — a "stoic Asian" who would not make waves — Woo fought with the toughest of his experienced opponents. After a number of plans were proposed and some passed, the council finally approved a plan authored by Woo and councilman John Ferraro — the two who would have been pitted against each other according to the initial proposal. "Compared to the first plan, I've come out smelling like a rose," Woo said.

Woo did not battle alone. Asian-American community groups formed a coalition and rallied to support him, cramming the chambers of city hall and protesting the first redistricting plan that would have lopped off much of his political base and placed him in a district designed for a second Hispanic council member.

"The Asian community was unusually visible in city hall during that time," Woo said. "The symbolism was important — that this community can't be taken for granted, it will rise up when necessary."

Woo recognizes his responsibility towards Asian Americans who look to him as a spokesman for their community. For example, he has appeared at reparation rallies in Little Tokyo, pushed for a senior citizens' center for Koreatown and pushed for a disclaimer to the movie, "Year of the Dragon."

"I have a special responsibility, occasionally, to speak out on Asian community issues that are outside of the boundaries of my district," Woo said.

Woo credits the Asian-American community as "indispensable" as a base of support so he would be taken as a serious candidate outside of the ethnic community.

"At the same time I had to transcend the label of being an Asian candidate because I had to send the message to my potential constituents that I wouldn't only care about Asian issues," Woo said. "That was somewhat tricky. I lost my first election in 1981 partially because I wasn't able to deal with this paradox."

An engaging speaker who injects humor and personal experiences into his presentations, Woo recently told a group of Asian-American Democrats that candidates of Asian ancestry are in a special predicament. "We are faced with a very delicate balancing act: How to be as Asian as we need to be, in terms of developing a base of support,

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— 29 percent — no Chinese American sits on the city council. Lily Chen, the state's first Chinese-American woman mayor, lost her bid for re-election this year because of a strong backlash against a recent influx of Chinese immigrants, some believe.

But Chen did not draw Chinese-American voters to the polling booths. "A lot of Chinese and Asians gave money but did not come out to vote," said attorney Mike Eng. "Just because an Asian American is running does not mean the Asian-American community will get out and vote to support them. It is not a Pavlovian response."

While at the polls, Monterey Park voters also passed a resolution in support of declaring English the official language.

Japanese

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Japanese initially were encouraged to come to America to fill the void of cheap labor previously provided by the Chinese immigrants. But public sentiment turned quickly against the Japanese.

In 1905 the state Legislature unanimously passed an anti-Japanese resolution asking Congress to limit immigration from Japan. For the next 40 years, anti-Japanese bills were introduced in every biennial session.

In 1913 and again in 1920 the Legislature passed alien-land laws which denied immigrants of Japanese ancestry the right to own or lease land. Immigration from Japan was halted by Congress in 1924. Immigrants circumvented the land laws by placing their property in the names of their native-born children. But the fact that the second-generation Japanese Americans were U.S. citizens did not prevent them from being forcibly interned during World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066.

Two-thirds of the 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated were American citizens; today nearly three-fourths of that population was born here. From the most acculturated Asian group, California's Japanese Americans have contributed a U.S. senator, two state assemblymen, a host of locally-elected officials and, currently, two Democratic U.S. congressmen — Matsui of Sacramento and Mineta of San Jose.

In California, Japanese Americans are expected to number 335,000 at the turn of the century compared to 289,000 last year. Most of those who are involved in politics are *nisei* — sons and daughters of immigrants from Japan. It is the *nisei*, a generation of people in their 60s and 70s, who have money and community clout — and they are using them to influence the political process.

continued on next page

les city councilman

but at the same time not being so Asian that we offend or put off other people," the politician said.

Woo lost his first bid for the Hollywood area district — in 1981 -- with 39 percent of the votes compared to the incumbent's 61 percent. In 1985, Woo buried the incumbent in their second contest after he outspent her with an $800,000 warchest — half donated by the Asian-American community, including $210,000 from his father, conservative Republican Wilbur Woo.

Woo's mother was born in Stockton; his father is a Cantonese immigrant who arrived in America during the 1930s. They developed the Chung King wholesale produce company before his father became involved with the Cathay Bank during the 1960s. Woo's father, who has supported John Ferraro, Richard Nixon and Evelle Younger as well as Tom Bradley and Alan Cranston, and grandfather were active in community politics in Chinatown in addition to being involved in the Lion's Club and Shriners.

"To me, it was very normal to be involved in public events," Woo said. His family encouraged his participation in politics back to his unsuccessful bid for student body president at Alhambra High School.

After graduating from UC Santa Cruz, Woo earned a master's degree in city planning at the University of California, Berkeley. Unlike some who begin with no political experience and who quickly plateau, Woo laid the groundwork for his political career by training under Roberti. His family — and his fiance — were supportive in his bid for the council, with his four sisters and their children campaigning for him, as well as members of his family association.

In 1981 Woo said he had a "naive attitude" about how cosmopolitan and racially tolerant his liberal district was. "The introduction of an ethnic candidate — Asian, black or Hispanic — pushes a button in the minds of the voters which brings out certain attitudes which don't pop out in the case of a (Congressman Henry) Waxman or Roberti or (Assemblyman Mike) Roos," Woo said.

For example, when campaigning in a strong Democratic area of east Hollywood where many ethnic minorities are moving in, a long-time resident complained to him that her Social Security was being cut back while money was being spent on immigrants.

"Here I am, a native of Los Angeles. I barely speak enough Chinese to order food in a Chinese restaurant and to her I had become a symbol of neighborhood conditions she felt threatened by. It wasn't just anti-Asian but anti-immigrant because of the changing population," Woo said. "I had to learn to get across the point that just because I happen to be of Chinese descent doesn't mean I'm in favor of street gangs or grafitti."

But anti-Asian sentiment is a reality, Woo admitted. "There's a high level of racial tension running below the surface of communities that may seem racially tolerant and mixed on the surface."

Woo sees politics as one way to deal with the racism that may not even be apparent to the holder. "The best way to deal with it is not by accusing them of being a racist, but rather by disproving the premise upon which the attitude is based. That is a subtle way of changing those kinds of attitudes," Woo said. "This is some of the implicit missionary work that those of us in these kinds of positions are out there to do."

Woo is a role model to young Asian Americans interested in politics. But he also believes the significance of having an Asian American in office is partially to change perceptions held by non-Asians.

"I think that people like me or (Congressman Robert) Matsui or (Congressman Norman) Mineta or (Secretary of State March Fong) Eu break the mold of Asians, at least so far as it's perceived by non-Asians." Woo said. "It's easy for a non-Asian to think of an Asian as their accountant or doctor or aerospace engineer. But I think when a constituent has to deal with me directly about a problem with tree trimming, and I can solve their tree-trimming problem, it builds up this positive image: 'I dealt with the councilman, he got my tree trimmed; and, oh, he happens to be an Asian.' "

— *Judy Tachibana*

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Photo courtesy Mary Tsuruko Tsukamoto

The Mochida family prepares to board the bus to a Japanese internment camp, May 8, 1942.

Sacramento politicians of all stripes look to the Japanese-American godfather — Yasushi "Chewy" Ito — when they want input from the Asian-American community; Democrats tap party loyalist Mary Miyashita of Los Angeles when they need to put on a fund raiser for Leo McCarthy or Gray Davis; Republicans turn to Sacramento nurseryman George Oki, Monterey Park businessman Kei Higashi or San Jose attorney Stephen Nakashima to bring out the troops — and the bucks — for party activities.

"They don't reach into their pockets too readily for $1000," Higashi said. "But you can get it by leaning on them."

Gardena, a Los Angeles suburb with the highest percentage of Japanese-Americans voters, has repeatedly elected a Japanese-American city treasurer, city clerk and two city councilmen — all *nisei*.

Perhaps because the *nisei* were locked up in concentration camps along with their immigrant parents solely because of their ancestry during World War II, they have struggled to prove that they are mainstream Americans. The second generation has educated the third *(sansei)* and fourth *(yonsei)* generations and guided them toward well-paying, "safe" jobs — such as dentists, pharmacists, doctors, lawyers, accountants and nurses, observed *yonsei* historian Donald T. Hata, a former Gardena city councilman. Politics is not a "safe" profession.

"The camp experience has a lot to do with the development of the community," said *sansei* Irene Hirano, president of Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics. "After the war, the concern among *nisei* was to be accepted, safe, assimilated. People were not encouraged to run for office. It's safer to be a teacher or an engineer."

In their quest for security, many younger Japanese Americans have fled for seemingly safe suburbs.

"I do not see much of an impact that the younger Japanese Americans are making in terms of politics," said University of California Regent Yori Wada. "Right now they are 'doing their thing' — making a career for themselves, being secure in their professional lives and buying a home."

They are part of a national trend which is skipping humanities and social sciences, Wada said, "but higher education is supposed to at least show you that you are responsible for the welfare of your neighbors, your state and your nation."

While not in the glare of elective office, representatives of the younger generation sometimes operate behind the scenes. In Los Angeles long-time activist *sansei* criminal attorney Michael Yamaki played political middleman, particularly during Governor Jerry Brown's administration, to elevate Asian Americans to the bench and state commissions. Legislative aides like Priscella Ouchida used her access to Assemblyman Pat Johnston who then pushed for reparations to Japanese Americans fired from state jobs during World War II.

Sansei community activitists Warren Furutani and David Kakishiba are seeking school board seats in Los Angeles and Berkeley and several others have built up respected track records through years working for the community — Hirano, Oakland attorney Dale Minami and San Francisco community worker Jeff Mori. Aside from occasional talk that Congressman Matsui might one day run for the U. S. Senate, no upcoming Mike Woo types — with the combination of experience, ambition, personality and family money — have emerged yet on the Japanese-American horizon to wage and win a major campaign.

However, Japanese Americans have the highest percentage of voter registration among Asian-American groups. Of those Japanese Americans included in the UCLA study, 55 percent registered as Democrats, 32 percent as Republicans and 12 percent as declined to state.

But party affiliation is tossed aside when a favorite Japanese-American candidate is running. "A lot of times I go to a Bob Matsui function," Republican Oki said. "I see a lot of my Republican friends there."

Nakashima contributes to Deukmejian and Ed Zschau, but also gives to Mineta. "I am a staunch Republican, but first of all I am a *Nihonjin* (a person of Japanese descent)," Nakashima said.

Filipinos

After Japanese immigration was halted in 1924, young men from the Philippine Islands began filling the labor void; they could enter the U.S. freely when the islands became a possession of the U.S. in 1899 as a result of the Spanish American War. They worked mainly as migratory farm workers in the San Joaquin and Imperial valleys as well as in the Monterey-Salinas region.

With the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 — which established a Philippine Commonwealth and thus applied U.S. immigration laws to the islands — the quota of Filipino immigrants was limited to 50 per year. When the Philippines became independent in 1946, the quota was raised to 100.

With 489,000 California residents, Filipino Americans recently became the largest Asian-American group in California and are expected to continue that ranking into the turn of the century. In the next 20 years, their California population will more than double.

With a burgeoning population which registers solidly Democratic, Filipino Americans may form a formidable voting bloc in the future; however, their representation in the state political process today is limited. While concerned about politics in the Philippines — particularly during the Marcos-Aquino presidential contest — Filipino Americans have yet to develop significant political power or representation in California.

"The years before Aquino's election were divisive years," said Alex Esclamado, publisher of the *Philippine News*. "Now that Marcos is out, we are starting to heal the wounds." Esclamado said he plans to rejuvenate Filipino Americans for Political Action.

Community leaders agree that political involvement in local and California politics is necessary. "The issues in the Philippines aren't going to involve and change their life here in any manner," said Richard Cerbatos, a California native who serves on the San Francisco Board of Education. "In America we are dealing with other issues — civil rights, economic development,

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racism — issues that are past the emotional attachment to the Philippines. I'm expecting a maturation of the community. They will implement and support what it takes to live in America — that's political involvement."

It is a relatively new community in which many members are striving for financial stability. Although acculturation may be eased somewhat because English is taught in the Philippines and many immigrants are professionals, many Filipinos are still underemployed, Cerbatos said.

"They may have an accounting degree in the Philippines but are working here as a bookkeeper; they may have a doctor's degree and are working as a lab tech," Cerbatos said. "For political involvement, what we need is more people making $35,000 a year."

Even so, when third generation Filipino American Larry Asera attempted a jump from Solano County Board of Supervisors to the state Assembly in 1980, Filipino Americans across the state gave between $200,000 and $250,000, Asera said. "We are just beginning to be in a position economically to afford to run."

Some have run successfully at local levels — Leonard Velasco and Monty Manibog serve as mayor of Delano and Monterey Park, respectively, and Gorgonio Solidum sits on the city council of Hercules, which has a growing population of Filipino Americans. Although P. Cecie Fontanoza heads the state Department of Rehabilitation and Ronald Quidachay and Mel Recana preside over municipal courts in San Francisco and Los Angeles, respectively, Filipino Americans remain critically underrepresented in appointed positions.

Existing community organizations based on homeland regions may form a base that could accelerate the involvement of Filipinos in California politics, believes Ferd Galvez, vice president of the Asian Pacific American Coalition U.S.A., an educational advocacy group.

Similarly, chiefs and church leaders may be the key resources to organizing Samoans because a network is already in place, said Pat Luce, executive director of the National Office of Samoan Affairs in San Francisco. A shortage of role models, lack of experience and a struggle for survival have prevented Pacific Islanders from becoming involved in the California political process, Luce said.

Because officials were appointed to office in the island until 1979, electoral politics is new to Californians from American Samoa. And economic survival is still the priority. "The majority of Pacific Island people are basically living day-to-day and financially trying to make ends meet," Luce said. "We are dealing with the basic need of the family. We are dealing with drop-out problems, getting students into community colleges."

Koreans

Korean Americans are not depending on former structures to deal with the California political process. They displayed their ability to organize last summer when hundreds of supporters packed the Los Angeles City Hall to protest the splitting of Koreatown into three districts as part of court-ordered redistricting of Los Angeles.

Articulate and pragmatic — with a growing group of economically stable members — Korean Americans are accelerating their efforts to impact the political process, albeit with mixed results. For example, after supporting Councilman Michael Woo in redistricting, Korean Americans were caught off guard when the final plan was approved and they found their own community split up into three council districts.

"It was an oversight on our part," said Tong Soo Chung, president of the Korean American Coalition. "That last day, by any measure, it was clearly a lost battle, clearly too late, but we showed up in numbers, packed the city council."

After protesting to the council, they drew up their own plan, which placed Koreatown in one district, and submitted it with a lawsuit charging the council's plan violated their voting rights. Although the Los Angeles City Attorney denied their demand in August, Korean Americans had demonstrated their unity. They also recognized their need to establish some political clout.

Many Korean Americans agree that the group that speaks for their community is the Korean American Coalition, an organization formed in 1983. Although its members are first, second and third generation Korean Americans, it is the "1.5 generation" that is bridging the gap between the ethnic community and mainstream America.

Born in Korea but educated in America, "the 1.5 generation" speaks to immigrants in Korean but can also articulate their ideas in English. In their 20s and 30s, they understand Western customs and the political process, but are also aware of the culture and values of their parents. Communicating Korean immigrants' concerns, they are also supported by older members of the second generation like retired U. S.

Photo by Joel Ordesky

Army Colonel Young O. Kim, architect David Hyun and first-generation newsman K.W. Lee.

The coalition has mapped out a plan for Korean-American participation in the political process. They began a voter registration drive which they expect to continue for 10 years. Last spring, the organization held a voter registration drive fund raiser which drew 600 people and raised $33,000, according to Charles Kim, director for the coalition.

Simultaneously the coalition is grooming candidates by participating in leadership conferences and financing college students who work as summer interns in offices of politicians.

"My plan is to give these people 10 years. Grab them now, give them 10 years, additional degrees, other job opportunities, internships, expose them to different things," Chung said. "If we go through 20 or 30 of them I am sure we can come up with some who would really want to do it and some of them will have all the marbles. So in 10 years I see potentially more than a few running at all levels."

In the short time they have been in California, Koreans have revitalized a section of the mid-Wilshire area in Los Angeles, expanding Koreatown far beyond what began as a few shops near Western Avenue and Olympic Boulevard. As they become financially established many move to outlying areas, dissipating the small voting bloc they have.

The Korean-American population in California is expected to more than double in the next 15 years to 333,000, nearly catching up with the Japanese-American population. About 49 percent register as Democrats, 29 percent as Republicans and 20 percent as declined-to-state. They recognize the need to learn to pool their contributions.

"We are just like babies. We are just learning. We are paying expensive tuition," said Charles Kim, a Republican who was recently appointed to the Consumer Advisory Council to the state Department of Consumer Affairs.

Many feel that politicians court them for their money, then give the community nothing in return, except a photo of the politician shaking hands with the donor. Korean-American

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leaders say that individual Koreans have donated heavily to campaigns in the past, but henceforth they will give in a manner that will reap benefits for the Korean-American community.

"I will support either a Democrat or a Republican depending on what they will do for the Korean community," Charles Kim said.

Southeast Asians

Although Southeast Asians are the newest group of immigrants from Asia, their population in California is expected to grow dramatically (see following story). By the turn of the century, they are predicted to make up more than 26 percent of the Asian Americans in California.

Many of the Vietnamese of Chinese ancestry who began arriving in 1980 as "boat people," and Laotians who began arriving several years later are still struggling with daily survival and adjustment to a country completely foreign to them. But a number of the well-educated elite Vietnamese who came to California after the fall of Saigon in 1975, and those who had been in the U.S. prior to that, are beginning to make inroads into the political process.

Initially concerned about social services to help refugees from their homelands, some found politics necessary. "Because of what we see daily — the hardships that refugees have to go through, that we have to go through to keep the doors of the social services agencies open — we see the need to be involved politically," said Michael Huynh, director of San Francisco's Refugee Resource Center. "We have no choice."

A resident since 1969 when he came to the U.S. as a student, Huynh taught one year of high school math before he turned to serving refugees in 1975. He helped to form the Vietnamese Democratic Club in 1982 and currently serves as a consultant to the Legislature's Joint Committee on Refugee Resettlement. He was also appointed by Assemblyman Art Agnos to the Democratic State Central Committee.

Although many community leaders actively involved in politics are Democrats, he sees many Southeast Asians registering as Republicans because they think the GOP is more strongly anti-communist, Huynh said. But that is subject to change since only a small percentage of refugees who become naturalized citizens are signing up to vote.

"We didn't believe in politics back home," Huyuh said. "We felt everything was so corrupt. So it will take us some time to convince people about why they need to get out and vote here."

Some are already convinced. Nil Hul, a Cambodian man living in Long Beach, ran — unsuccessfully — for the Long Beach City Council in August. Ten candidates sought ousted James Wilson's seat in the special election. Hul's supporters knew that he had only a long shot. He came in fourth with 153 votes, but his backers, who had raised about $5000 for him, were pleased.

"Our goal was to involve our people in politics," said Than Pok, a Cambodian who supported Hul. "We also wanted to sensitize Long Beach about the presence of the refugee community in the city and that we intend to participate in the process."

Pok, who came to America as a student in 1973 and earned master's degrees in social welfare and education, in May formed the Organization of Indochinese Americans — a po-

Thomas Hsieh – San

Tang Hsieh

Thomas Hsieh's appointment fills a gaping hole: He provides the only Asian-American representation on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in a city where residents of Asian ancestry make up nearly a fourth of the city's population — about half of them Chinese American.

His appointment to the Board by Mayor Dianne Feinstein in August changed the choices voters will have in the November election. Candidate Hsieh, who had raised $166,000 in a bid for the November election, is out. He won't have to run until his term expires in 1988. And his top contender for the appointment — Assistant District Attorney Julie Tang — filed to run for the Board this year after Hsieh got the job. Grass-roots worker William Gee, 71, is also seeking the office and received Hsieh's endorsement.

A native of Beijing, Hsieh arrived in San Francisco in 1952 with $350 in his pocket — his father's life savings. While attending UC Berkeley, where he earned a master's degree in architecture, he felt the sting of prejudice.

"I tried many times to rent an apartment, and I was told they would not rent to an Asian. I don't want my children and my children's children to continue to suffer," said Hsieh, 55. "At that time, I determined that the only way to do it is to fight through the system. That was the time I determined to get into politics."

He began his political involvement through appointments, beginning in 1978 with the San Francisco Art Commission. He then served on the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission and the California-Nevada Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. He was appointed by Feinstein to the San Francisco Police Commission where he insists he was a tough member.

"It's a myth that Asian Americans are too soft, that they are only good for science or academic work," Hsieh said. "An Asian can do a job second to none. That is a great message for people other than Asians to know."

Hsieh also stepped up his involvement with the Democratic Party. He cultivated his contacts beyond San Francisco's Asian American community, became known as an effective fund raiser for Democratic candidates and climbed up to the executive committee at the national level of the Democratic Party. The office walls of his architectural firm — a firm he said will remain dormant while he serves as supervisor — are lined with photographs of Hsieh with candidates Bradley, Mondale and Carter.

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litical-action committee made up mostly of business people. According to Pok, the group's first event raised $8000, of which $3500 was donated to Democratic state Senator Paul Carpenter who chaired the Joint Committee on Refugee Resettlement and who is running for the State Board of Equalization.

Politicians recognize the bulging numbers of Southeast Asians and are beginning to appoint Southeast Asians to commissions which impact their communities.

- Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn appointed Cambodian Hay Yang to the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission in June. Yang also serves on the Asian Pacific Advisory Committee of the state Department of Rehabilitation.
- Theresa Do, a former high school French teacher who fled Saigon with her two daughters in 1975, serves on the state advisory council for refugee assistance and services. A social worker for San Diego County, Do also serves on the county's ethnic-affairs committee. She campaigned for San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor but said she sees few Southeast Asians getting involved in politics yet.

Coalition building

In Los Angeles, leaders are forming an informal coalition to develop an Asian-Pacific American agenda, said Stewart Kwoh, director of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Los Angeles. Even with a growing Asian-American population, unless the various ethnic groups band together, their numbers will be relatively small.

"Koreans recognize that in the U.S., political power comes through numbers and the only way Asians are going to be counted is if we stick together," said Colonel Young O. Kim, an active member of both the Korean and Japanese-American communities. "Many of them (Koreans) quickly perceive that if it wasn't for Japanese-American *nisei* and *sansei*, they wouldn't get the government grants for particular activities."

But the recognition does not necessarily make it easy for groups whose homelands have had historical differences and who are at different stages in adjustment to America.

"There's a perception that Asian coalitions are used primarily by Japanese and Chinese Americans to their own benefit and not to benefit the other members of the coalition. To some extent it's understandable because there are more of them and more of them are better trained to take the plums offered to the Asian community," Korean leader Tong Soo Chung said. "But to keep the coalition, you've got to spread the plums around."

Although Asian Americans are a relatively new group vying for those limited political plums, they face the same obstacles as other minorities and the general population; sparking the interest of their kinsmen and kinswomen so they understand the importance of their participation, developing a common agenda among a group that has a broad range of socio-economic levels, putting aside historical differences to work for common goals and cultivating talented leadership.

The potential is there. Although the obstacles are substantial, the Asian-American community can develop all the tools necessary to become a substantial political force in the state. They will have the numbers, and many of them will have the money. What remains to be seen is whether Asian Americans will pool their resources, seize the opportunites and exercise and strengthen their political muscle.

ncisco supervisor

In 1983 he and other Asian-American Democratic leaders formed the national Democratic Party's Asian Caucus, which was recently disbanded by the party. "The generation before us did not build up a network, didn't get into the party structure," Hsieh said, referring to the abrupt absence of Asian-Americans after Floyd Mori, Alfred Song and Paul Bannai left the Legislature. "We are not doing our own thing but building a network."

But Hsieh's Asian-American network is not all inclusive. Some in the San Francisco Chinese-American community do not consider Hsieh a spokesman for the community. Instead, they see him as an ally of business interests. Cantonese-speaking residents of San Francisco's Chinatown do not understand the Mandarin of Hsieh, who lives far above Chinatown on exclusive Nob Hill.

In opposition to Hsieh's appointment, active grass-roots organizations threw their support behind Tang, a member of the city's Community College Board. After Hsieh's selection and minutes before the deadline, Tang officially declared her candidacy. Her candidacy is not the result of Hsieh's appointment, Tang said, but "because of the appointment process, I felt there was a groundswell of support for me."

Backed by the liberal Chinese-American Democratic Club, which had already endorsed Gee, and a number of San Francisco officials, Tang faces an uphill battle. Nineteen candidates are seeking five seats in a contest where all five incumbents are running for re-election on the 11-member board.

But by placing first in two successive races of San Francisco's Community College Board, Tang has name recognition. At 37, she has worked as a counselor for the community college district for four years while earning her law degree. Active in the community since her arrival from Hong Kong in 1967, Tang is one of a number of immigrants who are becoming politically active. Those new immigrants "never had to face a racist society when growing up," Tang said, and have a positive self image which gives them the confidence to take a chance with politics.

"A lot of Chinese Americans feel they have to apologize for being Chinese, and they end up not being accepted by either group," Tang said. "Those of us from overseas always felt we could do anything we wanted. And we chose America to be our country."

But ever since Chinese have been immigrating to California, few have held elective office. Hsieh is not the first Asian American selected to serve on the San Francisco Board. He follows in the footsteps of two other Chinese Americans: George Chinn, who was appointed by Joseph Alioto in 1973 and lost an election bid later that year, and Gordon Lau, appointed by Mayor George Moscone in 1977. Lau won a term on the Board in a district election, but when the method was changed to city-wide elections, he lost the seat in 1979.

When Hsieh faces reelection in 1988 he may be challenged by a growing number of politically ambitious Chinese Americans, possibly including — if she does not win this month — Julie Tang. But given their large population in San Francisco, many are asking why Asian Americans should be battling over a single seat when — if they could get their act together — there could be two or possibly three Asian Americans on the Board.

— *Judy Tachibana*

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**********************************************
* LEGI-TECH              6/18/86   ACTION REPORT *
**********************************************
SB 1970   ELECTRICITY: DEMAND AND SUPPLY FORECAST: REPORT
ROSENTHAL
ACTIONS:  02/18/86 INTRODUCED IN SENATE
          02/24/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY &
                   PUBLIC UTILITIES
       ➔  04/08/86 PASSED BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY &
                   PUBLIC UTILITIES
          04/08/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
          04/21/86 AMENDED
          05/12/86 FROM COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
          05/22/86 PASSED BY SENATE
          05/22/86 INTRODUCED IN ASSEMBLY
          06/02/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON
                   UTILITIES & COMMERCE
       ➔  06/18/86 PASSED BY ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON
                   UTILITIES & COMMERCE
          06/18/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON WAYS & MEANS
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SENATE DAILY HISTORY

S.B. No. 1970—Rosenthal.
An act relating to electricity.
1986
Feb 18—Introduced. Read first time. To Com. on RLS. for assignment. To print.
Feb 20—From print. May be acted upon on or after March 22.
Feb 24—To Com. on E. & P.U.
Mar 17—Set for hearing April 8.
➔ April 17—From committee: Do pass as amended, but first amend, and re-refer to Com. on APPR. (Ayes 5. Noes 0. Page 5053.)
April 21—Read second time. Amended. Re-referred to Com. on APPR.
April 30—Set for hearing May 12.
May 12—From committee: Be placed on second reading file pursuant to Senate Rule 28.8.
May 13—Read second time. To third reading.
May 19—To Special Consent Calendar.
May 22—Read third time. Passed. (Ayes 30. Noes 0. Page 5887.) To Assembly.
May 23—In Assembly. Read first time. Held at Desk.
June 2—To Com. on U. & C.
➔ June 23—From committee: Do pass, but first be re-referred to Com. on W. & M. (Ayes 11. Noes 0.) Re-referred to Com. on W. & M.

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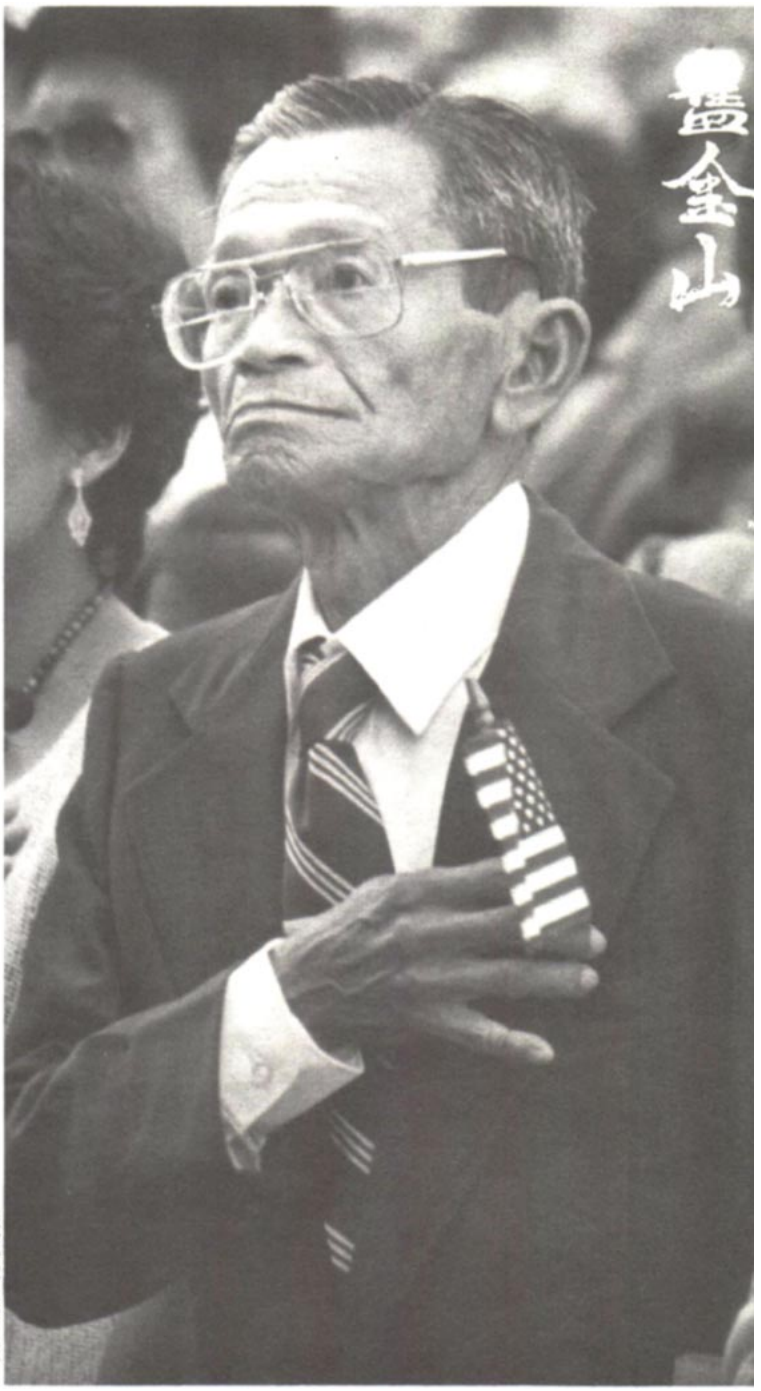

Photo: Rich Pedroncelli

Which party will harvest the new Asian votes?

By ELIZABETH AOKI

According to the 1980 census, there were 1.3 million Asians in California, or about 4.9 percent of the state's total population. By 1985 that Asian population had jumped to 7.5 percent. By the turn of the century California's Asians are expected to reach the three million mark, then double by the year 2030 to comprise nearly 16 percent of the state. This represents more than a five-fold increase in population, a percentage unmatched by any ethnic group in California — including Hispanics.

What makes this trend intriguing to the state's political parties is not so much the numbers involved but where those numbers are distributed, for currently 90 percent of all Asians live in California's cities. Coupled with expected growth patterns, that translates into potential political power, especially if Asians form coalitions with other ethnic groups in a California that is rapidly becoming "minoritized."

First, however, Asians must learn to build coalitions among themselves, for the Asian community itself is not homogeneous but a diverse polyglot of communities like Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Indian, Korean, Thai and Samoan.

In 1980 Filipinos became the state's largest Asian ethnic group, making up 27.3 percent of the Asian population and surpassing the Chinese (24.8 percent). Other segments of the Asian community include Japanese (20.5 percent), Koreans (7.8 percent), Vietnamese (6.5 percent), Asian Indians (4.6 percent), other Southeast Asians (1.4 percent) and other Asians (7.1 percent).

These numbers are changing fast, however. The Japanese, with a high median age and low immigration and fertility rates, are slipping and their portion of the total Asian population will be halved by the year 2000. In addition, there has been an explosion in the Southeast Asian population. It is estimated that in fifty years the Vietnamese will surpass Filipinos as the largest population among California's Asians.

Political impacts

Thus far, Asian population growth has not translated into votes or into political influence. (In 1985, although Asians comprised nearly 8 percent of the state's total population, they made up only 4 percent of its *voting* population.) This is partly the result of the large numbers of Asian immigrants who are non-citizens. A 1984 California Institute of Technology survey found a sizeable difference between the number of whites and of Asians who had voted in 1984 (81 percent and 48 percent, respectively). But when the numbers were adjusted to compensate for Asian non-citizens, the gap decreased: 69 percent of the Asians who *could* vote did so.

A study by the UCLA Graduate School of Education, taken about the same time as the Cal Tech study, found that in Los Angeles County, Asian voting percentages were much worse than those found by Cal Tech. According to UCLA research, Asian ethnic groups had voter-registration levels below the

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Elizabeth Aoki was a California Journal *summer intern. She is a student at the University of California, Berkeley.*

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county average. The Japanese had the highest percentage (43) of registered voters out of their eligible population, followed by the Chinese (35.5 percent), Samoans (28.5 percent), Filipinos (27 percent), Asian Indians (16.7 percent), Koreans (13 percent) and Vietnamese (4.1 percent).

It is basically the job of the state's major political parties to harness the Asians' as-yet-untapped reserve of voting power. To do that, the parties must help educate Asians in the political process.

For many Asian immigrants, their first contact with Republicans and Democrats comes directly after their swearing-in ceremonies as American citizens. Both parties now set up tables outside the room or building where a ceremony takes place, ready to register new citizens to vote. Sometimes the immigrants don't want to join either party — and not because they're apathetic. In Southeast Asia, party politics was a dangerous game, and reluctance to commit to a party is a natural reaction. In addition, many new citizens are concerned more with the basics of obtaining food, shelter and clothing than with political activity.

Differences

Dr. Ken Lee, chairman of the Asian Pacific Democratic Caucus for California, has misgivings about post-swearing-in recruitment. "Immigrants are very, very timid. Sometimes immigrants are being exploited, too, when they go for the swearing-in, and they stick voter registration stuff in their faces — 'Congratulations on becoming a citizen of the U.S. Sign up here!'" Dr. Lee adds that it is sometimes easy to get a signature, but signatures do not guarantee votes.

William Chang, chairman of the California Asian Republican Association, agrees. "Some people sign with either party without knowing the difference. I don't want people to join who don't know the difference."

According to the Cal Tech survey, Asians as an ethnic group tend to be more liberal than whites, but much more conservative than blacks or Hispanics. As a group, Asians show strong support for the death penalty and are the most likely of all ethnic groups — including whites — to favor increased military spending.

Not all Asians have the same concerns, however. Filipinos were the most likely to favor military spending and, as the only group from a predominantly Christian homeland, also the strongest supporters of prayer in public school. Koreans, reflecting their largely immigrant population, strongly support bilingual education. The Japanese had political attitudes closest to the white population, differing only in that they were more strongly in favor of the death penalty (81 percent of the Japanese versus 75 percent of whites) and less likely to favor prayer in the schools than white respondents. Chinese responses reflected an overall conservativism.

Both Republicans and Democrats try to exploit these findings. Republicans want to capitalize on Asian conservativism, while Democrats try to capitalize on the civil-rights and social-program needs of Asian Americans.

In Santa Clara County, for example, Democrats have been working with that county's large Southeast Asian population on social-service issues. County Democratic Chairman Scott Strickland says the immigrants are "fairly conservative by American standards, being stridently anti-Communist. So when you have a Republican Party rattling sabers, that plays very well in this community. On the other hand, much of the emerging leadership of the Southeast Asian community found it comfortable to work with government and elected officials. In our county most of the elected officials are Democrats."

Changing loyalties

Professor Bruce Cain, a chief investigator for the Cal Tech survey, says issues will ultimately decide the new immigrants' party loyalties. Party loyalty — and issues themselves — may change for second and third generation Asians, he added. The social-service and civil-rights imperatives may give way to a pro-business ideology as new immigrants enter the work force or begin businesses of their own. This should aid the Republican Party with the largest influx of Asian immigrants — the Southeast Asians. They arrived in this country at a time when Democrats were being blamed for a nationwide economic recession and Republicans were taking credit for the recovery.

In addition, Southeast Asians, unlike the Chinese or Japanese, also have not endured a long history of discrimination in the United States — an issue that in the past has drawn people to the Democratic Party. "It's the second or third generations that begin to discover the problems of discrimination — they are the ones going to school and working outside the community," says Cain.

Cain's associate, Professor D. Roderick Kiewiet, points out that party ties are relatively new even for those who are not newcomers. "Even older groups have not been comparatively politically active — historically they could not be active — and this, too, will make their ties [to a party] weaker."

Both Cain and Kiewiet point to their survey results: 44 percent of Asians surveyed had "weak" leanings toward their party compared with 29 percent who felt their ties were strong. The UCLA study found that one in five of the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean and Asian Indians registered "independent," while only one in 10 of all the other voters (including Filipino, Japanese and Samoans) declined to state a party preference.

These numbers are the bad news for Republicans and Democrats. The good news is that the diverse and multi-cultured Asian community is growing rapidly and provides fertile ground for the parties themselves — provided they understand that "Asian" means many things in California, and provided they can tailor their appeal to the needs and concerns both of the community as a whole and of each of its parts.

A growing population

The chart is based on figures in "Population Change and California's Future" by Leon Bouvier and Philip Martin, Population Reference Bureau, 1985.

	1970	1980	1990	
Whites	77.1	66.5	58.8	
Hispanics	11.9	19.3	24.2	
Blacks	7.0	7.5	7.5	
Asians	4.0	5.6	8.3	
Other		1.2	1.2	
	2000	**2010**	**2020**	**2030**
Whites	52.4	47.0	43.8	38.4
Hispanics	28.5	32.2	33.3	38.1
Blacks	7.4	7.2	7.2	6.7
Asians	10.6	12.5	14.6	15.6
Other	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2

ASIANS AND THE SMSAS

	1980	2000	2030
L.A. is/will be	4.9%	9.4	13.6 Asian
S.F.	8.7%	17.4	26.0
S.D.	5.1%	10.6	16.2
Balance of state	2.9%	6.0	9.3

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MARCH FONG EU

A political career stalled near the top?

By A.G. BLOCK

She was born in 1922 in Oakdale, a small town northeast of Modesto in Stanislaus County. The youngest of four children, she grew up in back of a laundry in the San Francisco Bay city of Richmond. Ultimately, she became California secretary of state, the only Asian ever elected to statewide office in California and the biggest vote-getter in California electoral history.

Yet March Fong Eu is something of a political curiosity. Ambitious and immensely popular with voters, she is the state's second-ranking elected Democrat (behind Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and ahead of Attorney General John Van de Kamp, outgoing Controller Ken Cory and Treasurer Jesse Unruh in the pecking order). She has served 20 years in elective state office — four terms in the State Assembly and three more as secretary of state. Yet she has virtually no power in the real world of California politics.

She would like to be governor; yet, by her own admission, she has little chance of convincing Democratic power brokers to support her candidacy. She hints that a run for U.S. Senate might be in the cards for 1988 if, somehow, incumbent Republican Pete Wilson decides not to seek reelection — a fanciful notion, at best.

A gracious and cultured woman, March Fong Eu, at 64, seems not to be a politician at all. More like a refined executive who glides back into office every four years by floating well above the wallow of California electoral politics. Even her November opponent — Republican Bruce Nestande, an Orange County supervisor — finds precious little criticism to hurl in her direction. But whether she can transfer both her electoral popularity and above-the-fray posture to a more serious challenge for governor or U.S. senator remains unknown.

continued on next page

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Eu was born in Oakdale but grew up in Richmond where she attended public schools. Her ambitions were already evident in high school where she showed a penchant for moving ahead through hard work and activism. Involved in student government, she earned a place on the school honor roll and, she remembers, was a cheerleader who made her own pompons — not just for waving around at pep rallies but to sell to other students.

Selling pom-pons is typical of Eu's response to the poverty that marked her early life and of her ambition to rise above it. It also marks another trait — Eu's willingness to take an extra step to better herself.

As a child, she considered herself among the disadvantaged not because she is Chinese — she remembers little overt discrimination as a result of her race — but because of economic deprivation. "Other kids had a nice house," she says. "I lived in the back of the laundry where my family did the washing and ironing." She suffered other deprivations, as well. As the youngest child, she recalls feeling "left out" of a busy family where little time was found for a growing daughter.

As a result, Eu says, the greatest influences on her early life were not her parents but teachers who provided the future educator and politician with her first role models. "I didn't want to end up in the laundry," Eu recalls. Teachers, she adds, impressed upon her the value of a good education and an appreciation for learning. "They showed me a way out of the ghetto."

Eu took her first steps out of poverty by attending Salinas Junior College after her parents had moved to Gilroy. But again, there were signs of restless ambition, for after one year she transferred to the University of California, Berkeley, then across the Bay to UC-San Francisco for the final two years, earning a bachelor of science degree in dental hygiene in 1948. Prior to graduation, she married Chester Fong, a dentist. (They were divorced in 1970.)

Eu did not travel an ordinary path after receiving her degree. Rather than become a practicing dental hygienist, she went into education as a dental-health supervisor for the Oakland school system, helping classroom teachers and school administrators teach dental care to children. While working for the Oakland schools, Eu decided to seek a master's degree (and, eventually, a PhD) in education.

"I needed an extra background in general education because I worked so closely with teachers," she says. She earned that master's from Mills College in Oakland in 1951; the PhD from Stanford in 1956.

Eu and her first husband adopted two infant children while she pursued her education. Son Matthew, now 33, is a graduate of the Air Force Academy where he majored in computer sciences. Married and the father of Eu's two grandchildren, he is now an attorney. Daughter Suiyn, 31, is a graduate of UC Davis who now lives in Nairobi, Kenya, where she is a project director for the Canadian High Commission. Her husband works for the United Nations in Kenya.

The political bug

It was after Eu finished her education that her first political opportunity surfaced. At the time, she was teaching at the UC School of Dental Hygiene and was thus seen as a leader in her field. This thrust her to the fore of state and national hygienist associations. She became active in both associations and eventually served as president of each during the 1950s.

From there, Eu progressed in classic fashion through the

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political ranks. She was elected to the Alameda County School Board in 1956 and served until 1966 when she successfully sought a seat in the state Assembly from Oakland. She was elected secretary of state in 1974, succeeding Jerry Brown who had just parlayed his tenure at state into the governorship. As a legislator, she became widely known for her campaign to do away with pay toilets in public restrooms — an effort highlighted by a photo of the diminutive March Fong wielding a sledge hammer to knock the lock off a loo.

Since 1974 Eu's political career seems to have stalled. Although she says she "loves being secretary of state," Eu has considered running for governor in the past, but her efforts never materialized into an active campaign. Today, she admits still that she would like to be governor.

"It would be good for the people," she says of a possible Eu governorship. "I give the people 24-hour-a-day, eight-day-a-week service. I think I could restore confidence in government. I'm not a typical politician."

Despite her ambition, Eu has never made a serious stab at running for governor. "I've always worried about raising enough money," she explains, adding that a race for governor is becoming increasingly more expensive. She also thinks she has been passed over for serious consideration as a gubernatorial candidate by influential leaders and fund raisers within her own party who also don't think she can raise enough money.

She also acknowledges what she calls a "covert prejudice" against her because she is a woman, and no woman has ever been considered a serious candidate for governor of California. This kind of thinking, Eu feels, may be changing, and she points to Nebraska and Maryland (where women won both major party primaries for governor and senator, respectively) as evidence that barriers may be dropping against women candidates. Eu, of course, still wants to rush past those barriers. When asked if 1986 will be her last statewide campaign, she merely smiles and says, "Ask me in November (1986)."

She alludes to potential runs for both governor and U.S. senator but is characteristically vague when asked to provide details. "I'm keeping my options open," she says.

Of course, Eu in Washington or ensconsed in the governor's office could put a strain on what is already the most unusual marriage in California politics — March and husband Henry Eu. She works in Sacramento and lives in Los Angeles. He works all over the Far East and lives in both Singapore and Hong Kong. They do not see each other often, she says, but is vague on exactly how often they are together. The couple was brought together by mutual friends in 1971 when the then-March Fong and her children were vacationing in Taiwan. They married two years later.

Eu, of Cantonese descent, was educated at UCLA during World War II, holds a Singapore passport and is reputedly one of the wealthiest men in the Far East. Eu says she doesn't know much about her husband's far-flung financial empire. She speculates that most of the wealth was passed down from her husband's father to his 13 sons and includes real estate, rubber plantations in Malaysia, palm oil and tin mines. Henry himself, she says, is well-known among the Chinese for his herbal-medicine business.

Asian barrier

It is interesting in itself, and speaks to Eu's popularity and the changing role of Asians in the political system, that Eu does not think the fact that she is Chinese has been any hinderance to her political fortunes.

"Early on, (being Chinese) was not a handicap," she explains. Eu says that Chinese were the "good minority." "People who are racist could vote for me and feel good about it. They could vote against a black or Hispanic and vote for me and say to themselves, 'Look, I voted for a minority. I'm not racist.'"

Eu considers that she has crossed over what she calls the "Asian barrier" and is no longer even seen as an Asian candidate. "I'm perceived for what I am," she says of her reputation as a hard-working public trooper. But ironically she does not think her success will transfer to other up-and-coming Asian candidates, contrary to the usual result when the first successful members of a minority in nearly any arena pave the way for their brethren.

But Eu says this is not the case with Asians.

"When I first started politics," she says, "I was not invited to too many so-called 'Asian groups' to talk. Today, there are a lot of activist Asian civic groups, so more and more the up-and-coming Asian politicians have to deal with those groups, so they become more and more identified with belonging to an Asian group. When I started out, it wasn't that way, and I was accepted by the broad base of the population."

If Eu's experience provides anything for other Asian political hopefuls, she says, it is for them to see that political success can be gained by an Asian.

"I want to be remembered as an Asian and as a woman who achieved high political office during a difficult time in California history," she says. "I want to be a role model for women and Asians to emulate."

She will also be remembered for her role as an active — if not flashy — secretary of state. Eu has taken a hands-on

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approach to voter registration, traveling the state in her department's Votemobile in order to drum up business at the polls. She has also played a key role in promoting California trade with Pacific Rim nations as chairwoman of the California State World Trade Commission.

But it may not be time to remember March Fong Eu just yet. There is every reason to expect she will win another smashing victory in this month's general election (see "Also-rans," *CJ*, October 1986). And the size of her win over Bruce Nestande will remind Democrats statewide of her considerable vote-getting ability.

Still, it is often easy to write off March Fong Eu as a serious candidate for higher office. There are those who say she hasn't the stomach for the kind of expensive and bruising fight that must be waged — both in the primary and in a general election — to be elected governor or to the U.S. Senate.

But Eu may be weighing a challenge to Pete Wilson when he seeks his first reelection in 1988. First, Eu will have a free ride as secretary of state — plus, as the state's chief elections officer, a highly-visible platform from which to campaign. Also, if Wilson is regarded as too formidable an incumbent, not many Democrats may be interested in challenging him, thus sparing Eu — and her party — a divisive primary fight like the one waged among Republicans this June for the right to challenge Alan Cranston.

A Eu-Wilson Senate campaign could prove one of the most genteel statewide races in years. And it could also put March Fong Eu's vote-getting ability to a sterner test than her four races for secretary of state.

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

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MARIJUANA — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barton Gilbert of Burbank. (January 1, 1987; *CJ*, October 1986).

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu

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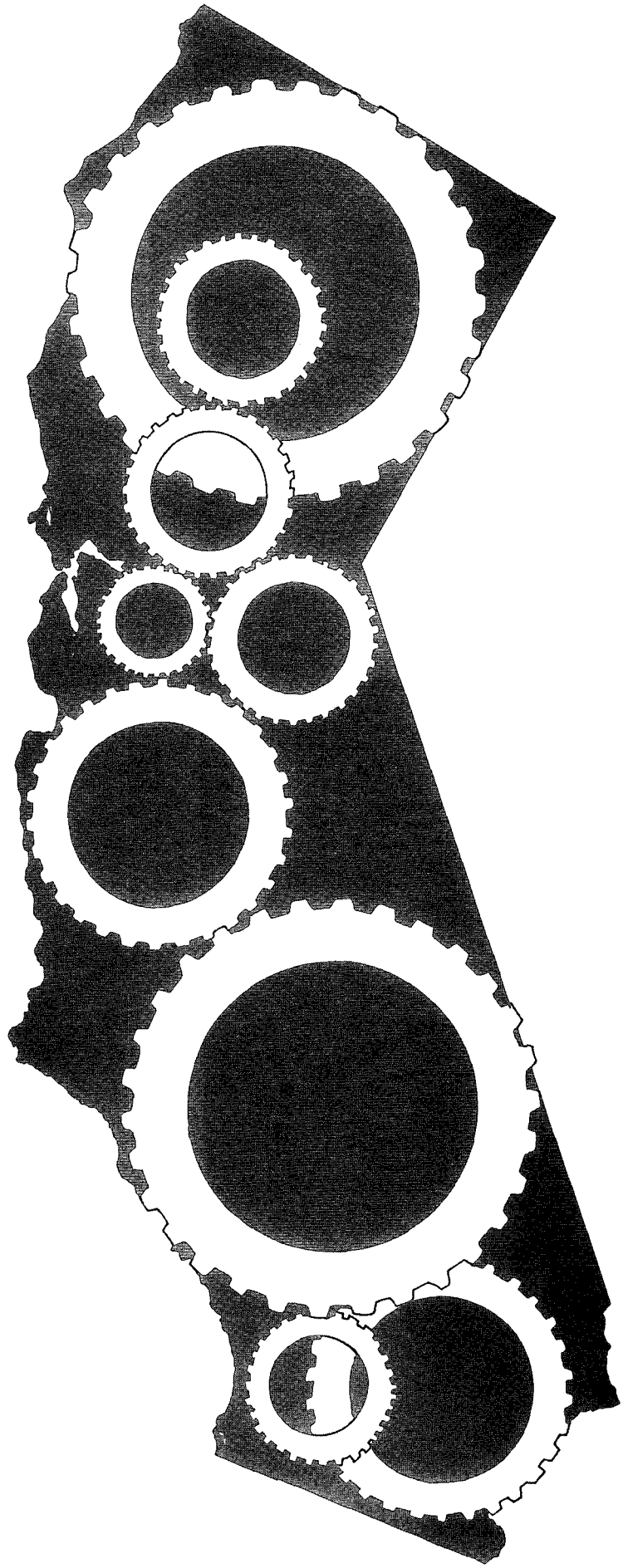

COGS

Failures as regional planners, COGs search for a new mission

By J. S. TAUB

It was an evening of glittering festivities at San Francisco's posh St. Francis Hotel on Union Square, the night the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) held its 25th birthday party. It had followed an afternoon filled with sober reflections. ABAG, making sure that business preceded pleasure, held its special 25th anniversary general assembly meeting immediately before the big bash.

It was there that executive director Revan A. F. Tranter delivered his critical analysis of why ABAG, the voluntary council of governments representing all nine Bay Area counties, 92 cities and a population of 5.6 million, had veered so drastically from its original land-use-planning course. Why, in fact, ABAG over the years bore helpless witness to the urban sprawl it had taken upon itself to staunch.

Tranter frankly admitted to the general assembly — ABAG's official policy-making body — that the council's regional land-use-planning mission had failed. Embodied in a now-classic document with the unassuming title of "Regional Plan: 1990," its conceptual cornerstone was the city-centered

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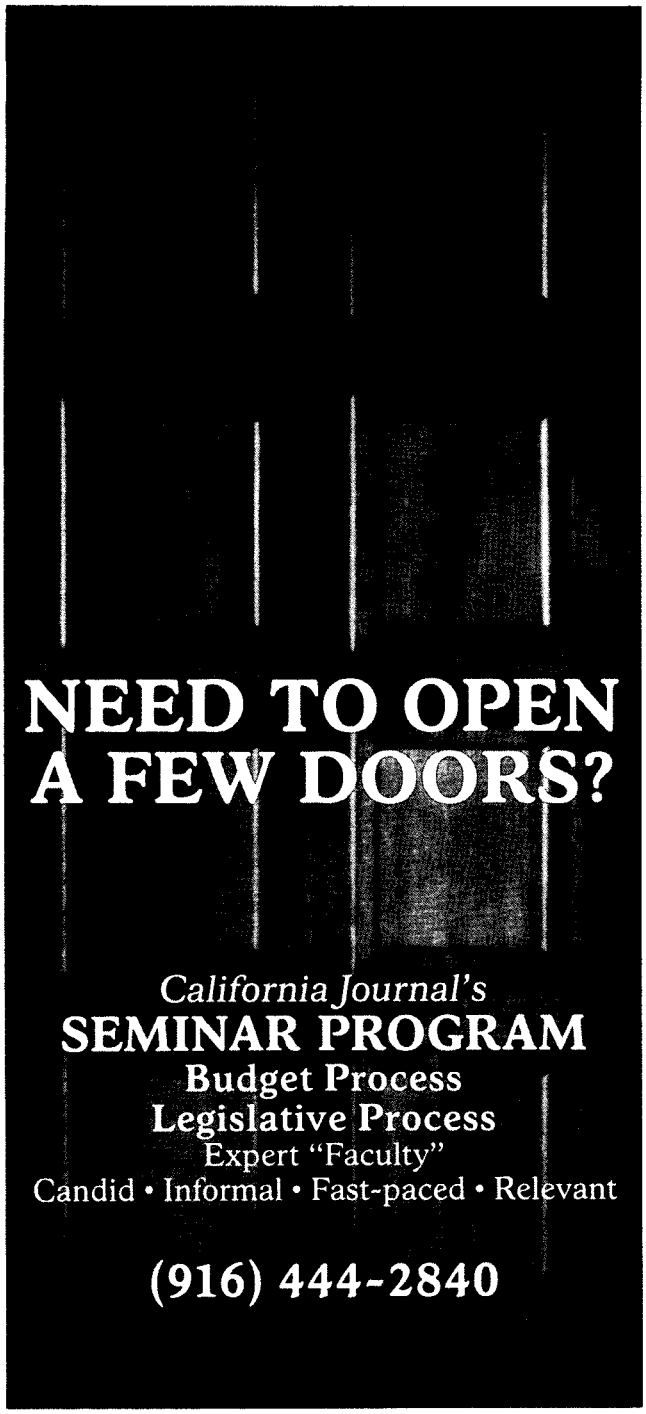

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region. It called for urban growth within existing urban communities. "Did the plan guide regional development?" Tranter asked his listeners. "Probably not as envisioned by those who developed it. The key elements, such as urban preserves and public open space to reduce land consumption and guide development, were not implemented. And urban sprawl continued throughout the 1970s," he said.

Tranter remarked in closing, "We learned that planners in the 1960s did rather well in identifying where the problems of growth would provide the most stress in the region. We also learned that forecasts and projections are subject to many assumptions, and errors will occur. Understanding human behavior remains an inexact science."

Science was probably not the highest priority in the Sacramento state house in 1960 when lawmakers passed the enabling legislation launching the Councils of Governments. The Councils, called COGs, were set up as single, multi-purpose, regional districts governed by locally elected officials. As regional land-use-planning agencies, they were designed to halt intramural warfare when the inevitable spill-over effects of planning codes adopted by one community crossed jurisdictional lines. Not incidentally, they functioned to protect local home rule from the dictates of state and federal authorities.

While it was one way to ensure that the movement of one neighbor's fist did indeed stop at another's territorial nose, the COGs also provided a forum in which to discuss and coordinate action on land use, transportation, housing, pollution, toxic wastes and energy. For ABAG, unlike other COGs, it also meant protecting and preserving the region's single most admired unifying force — the San Francisco Bay.

"Local government has a strong tradition in California. Even before the days of the Great Society when a lot of the federal programs were set up, even when there was no federal or state aid to cities, there was home rule here. This is the strongest home-rule state in the country," says Dr. Randy H. Hamilton, dean of the graduate school of public administration at Golden Gate University. But it would be home rule, the heartbeat of the COGs, that eventually proved to be their nemesis.

Evolution

Twenty-five years after ABAG emerged as the first COG in the state — the "granddaddy" of COGs — the forum and the coordinating function are all that remain of the regional-planning concept. As Tranter put it to the birthday crowd, "One can only go so far in jawboning. The economics of local-government finance played its part in eroding the regional plan."

The benefit of hindsight has even thrown the original idea open to reinterpretation. "I dispute the assumption that the COG had a land-use-planning mission. ABAG and the COGs in general are inherently schizophrenic in their cooperating and decision-making capabilities," says Angelo J. Siracusa, president of the Bay Area Council, a business coalition. This partly accounts for why ABAG has assumed a new mantle. It is now more service than study, more business-oriented than political, a lot less farsighted and, some aver, less brilliant.

Though not quite the oldest of the COGs — not quite the granddaddy — there is a powerful, entrepreneurial and intensely pragmatic voice from Los Angeles which calls itself the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). This 21-year-old COG has 38,000 square miles of territory within its six-county jurisdiction, a population of 13 million and a geographical range that spans the coastline to the Mojave Desert.

The fact that it's still growing, that the population is expected to hit 16 million by 2010, fills executive director Mark Pisano with equal measures of apprehension and determination. "We have been experiencing extreme growth, way more than the Bay Area. I have to say that it's totally over-

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whelming. We don't have a transit infrastructure, and we can't down-zone in the classic sense. If one community sets up limits, it just puts pressure on their neighbors," he says.

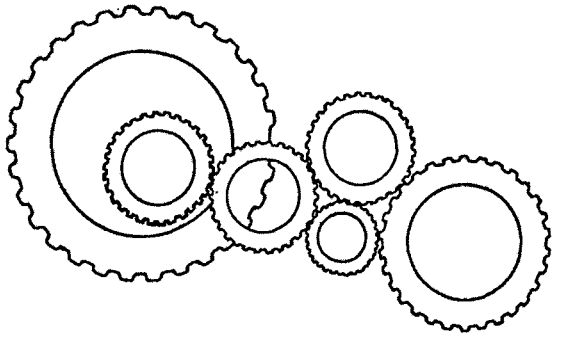
COGs are not just another kooky California phenomenon. There are about 700 COGs nationwide, 20 of which are located here. Whereas ABAG and SCAG constitute the state's balancing act, other major COGs, like the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) and the Sacramento Area Council of Governments (SACOG), claim jurisdiction over smaller, less-diverse tracts.

Observers note that smaller COGs are probably more effective in commandeering regional planning unity because of their abbreviated scope. But they, too, must grapple with growth, transit and environmental issues, just like the heavy hitters. "In terms of geography, we have a lot of unity on transportation issues and preservation of the environment. But one of the hardest areas we've had to deal with is growth, and we are growing at twice the rate of the rest of the state of California," comments Kenneth E. Sulzer, executive director of SANDAG, a young COG established in 1972.

At present, the COGs are responsible not so much for land-use planning as transportation planning. They act as regional clearinghouses for a myriad of federal and state monies, including Urban Mass Transit Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, Federal Highway Administration, Federal Aviation Administration and, in some cases, Army, Navy and Defense Department funds.

According to figures released by the California Association of Councils of Governments (CALCOG), overall the COGs depend on the federal government for 35 percent of their budgets and the state for 15 percent. Transit funds account for an average of 20 percent, while members' dues come to 12 percent of total COG budgets, overall.

ABAG, with a 1984-85 budget of $2.4 million, received a scant $881,000 from the feds and $75,000 from the state; SCAG, with a budget of $14.6 million that same year, received $9.5 million from Washington and $739,000 from Sacramento. However, SCAG's allocations include transportation grants, which ABAG's does not. ABAG's current level of federal funding represents a 70 percent drop from 10 years ago when the feds kicked in at least $3.5 million on a total $5 million budget. The rest of the COGs have suffered similar fates.



COGs

Kern County Council of Governments
Humboldt County Association of Governments
Council of Fresno County Governments
Kings County Regional Planning Agency
Inyo Mono Association of Governmental Entities
Lake County-City Areawide Planning Commission
Southern California Association of Governments
Merced County Association of Governments
Stanislaus Area Association of Governments
Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments
Association of Bay Area Governments
Sacramento Area Council of Governments
San Diego Association of Governments
San Luis Obispo Area Coordinating Council
Santa Barbara County-Cities Area Planning Council
Central Sierra Planning Council and Central Sierra Economic Development District
Tahoe Regional Planning Agency
San Joaquin County Council of Governments
Tulare County Association of Governments
Siskiyou Association of Governmental Entities

Reviews and grants

Apart from planning, the COGs are vested with a unique authority by the federal Office of Management and Budget known as the "A-95 Review and Comment." If a locality wants a grant for a project, the COG will review the application and, sometimes altering its contents to reflect regional rather than purely local concerns, usually will give a favorable comment to the feds. Technically, A-95 still exists. But since the feds no longer bankroll even a fraction of the local projects popular during the 1960s, that authority is essentially meaningless. Because A-95 no longer functions as a lure for local entities to join the COGs, it further erodes their attractiveness to prospective members.

Sacramento, on the other hand, presented no such disappointments. The state has traditionally expressed an almost cosmic indifference toward regional planning in general, and toward the COGs in particular. And it has no intention to inaugurate any support now. A bill which would have provided the COGs with an independent and renewable financing source from the governor's Office of Planning and Research was vetoed by Governor George Deukmejian in late March.

Observers express frustration with the state's lack of support — an attitude not shared by other states. "The state could have made the California COGs official organizations. But the state has no interest in land-use planning. They didn't then and they don't now. The state Office of Planning and Research doesn't amount to a hill of beans," according to Dr. Hamilton.

For the COGs, Proposition 13 was also no help. The 1978 measure that slashed localities' ability to raise cash left members too poor to support the planning agencies. "ABAG is very weak now, particularly after Prop. 13, and after the federal government lost interest in planning grants. In fact, ABAG can't get general land-use-planning grants, which was their original mission to begin with," says Michael S. McGill, executive director of the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association — a watchdog group.

McGill implies that the dominant home-rule champions got exactly what they asked for. "ABAG is weak by definition and desire, and it was created in an effort to avoid a more formal structure by the state government." Angelo Siracusa puts it more bluntly: "The COGs function as local government protective societies to protect regional planning autonomy. Local officials are elected to carry out the missions of their individual communities, and regionalism takes a back seat to that."

Ironically, because the COGs were designed to be weak advisory organs without statutory power, they were able to conduct and publish critically excellent land-use, housing, toxic waste and other studies that have had tremendous, though oblique, influence on the course of events.

Revan Tranter of ABAG admits that the COGs were deliberately designed to be weak organizations, but claims that

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ABAG's influence and voice in regional planning has had a marked effect. "We are of influence. Even though ABAG was designed to be a weak organization, we have influence now. There is no height, just peaks and valleys, and it varies and takes different forms." Though he is evasive about how much land-use planning ABAG has done recently, he admits that since federal money for this purpose has been cut back, most current research now being done is on a commission basis or for sale.

"We are acting in a more entrepreneurial capacity, more of a consulting firm for our members. This is the tenor of the times and this is what people want now. We have done some work for newly incorporated cities and we want to continue to be of service," he said.

Services

ABAG is now involved with member-driven services such as credit pooling, a health-benefits cooperative, technical support, a master lease-financing program, cost-revenue impact surveys and a pooled general-liability program. These business ventures have basically superseded ABAG's original planning role. "ABAG has demonstrated impressive institutional survival. Their original rationale for being no longer exists, but they continue to survive even though they are an old show," says McGill.

It wasn't as if ABAG didn't seek more authority. For three successive years beginning in 1973, 10-term Assemblyman John Knox, now a San Francisco lawyer, tried to push a bill through the Legislature that would have created a Bay Area Regional Planning Agency. It would have merged the boards of directors of ABAG and several existing agencies, including the powerful Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Bay Conservation and Development Commission. The proposed body would have had the authority to prepare plans and enforce them by passing ordinances and issuing cease and desist orders. The thorny issue of staffing was ironed down to a compromise: half the governing board would be composed of locally elected officials in the ABAG model; the other half, regionally elected.

The bill underwent several incarnations, but the end result was the same. It was killed and, along with it, any hopes for a statutory regional-planning agency. Knox says today, "There's nothing magic about this. If you want major land-use planning, then a degree of local sovereignty has to be sacrificed."

Republicans — the right-wing element especially — weren't buying. Those were the days when COG was fending off rumors that it was a communist plot. "The conservatives didn't want regional government, and the legislation was killed by the doctrinaire conservative position. They wanted nothing but county, district and city," Knox recalls.

However, absence of statutory authority does not imply institutional weakness to Knox, who still has visions of the COGs decked out in their federal togas. "I don't know that the COGs were meant to be weak. A lot of federal officials hoped that they would be more effective. There was a perceived need for regional coordination," he says. So even if the COGs were weak, they were also the only game in town. Says Knox, "The idea that localities can withdraw from the voluntary association is really textbook political science. If they withdrew they wouldn't have a voice at all. In the old days if you wanted a grant you would be a fool not to pay your dues to ABAG. Most thoughtful leaders wanted to belong."

According to Joseph P. Bort, past president of ABAG, "I would say that ABAG has been a success, but that it has problems. We have not been a success in land-use planning and have been only partially successful at getting the jurisdictions together." However, he points out, "We produce and disseminate knowledge and have the function of persuasion. We have fallen short of what we wanted to do in theory, but that is partially because we are dealing with human beings, and partly because we lacked the authority to do what we wanted to do. If we had some sort of taxing or statutory authority, it would have been a lot different."

Future evolution

By the turn of the century the COGs will have undergone a profound metamorphosis. Indeed, as the COGs increasingly seek the aid and advice of the business community, this linkage, ironically, may create the regional identity, and the financing, to transcend the need for backup from Washington or Sacramento.

SCAG is pioneering that road — openly building it. It is a road that the more traditional and scholarly ABAG approaches gingerly, with just a tinge of aesthetic reluctance. "Our main function is brokering energies and establishing linkages so there is a commonality of goals," states Mark Pisano, SCAG's executive director. He views the SCAG area as an isolated economic region and promotes the concept of self-sufficiency. "It is fine to provide service and information like some of the other COGs do, but we are doing it in the role of a broker and this is what distinguishes us from our colleagues," Pisano says.

Part of this distinction may be the result of pure panic. "In other regions there is a more natural, direct way of implementing plans and they may be ahead of us in the implementation phase. We are the largest COG, and we are forced to come to grips with special-interest groups. There is a strong desire on the part of local politicians to have a good relationship with these groups."

SCAG has positively identified with the local business community and works alongside a group called the Regional Institute of Southern California (RISC) — a non-profit organization which it helped create. Whereas ABAG's Corporate Associates program includes the traditional Bay Area elite like Chevron, Clorox, Pacific Telesis, Pacific Gas & Electric and Southern Pacific, the other end of the state is concentrating on the smaller businesses, the new entrepreneurs, to create the public-private partnership.

"We have found that the private sector has to be the implementing agent. The Institute has formed a coalition and solicited funds to clean up hazardous wastes from the companies that are producing it," Pisano explains. SCAG is now providing information that private enterprise needs and is willing to pay for. SANDAG's SourcePoint, a non-profit corporation specializing in information services to both the public and private sector, operates on the same principle.

Another RISC project involves education and job retraining wherein small entrepreneurial companies provide the basis for research on the kinds of skills required for jobs in the future. Students at the community colleges are trained for these positions. Says Don L. Gevirtz, chairman of the RISC board, "Our major role is to create a healthy, nurturing environment for entrepreneurs."

To seasoned observers of regional planning, such changes are a sign of the times, and even if necessary, they are not particularly alluring. Says McGill of the new ABAG, "I miss their elan, their old orientation, their kamikaze habit of sticking their necks out. It's too bad they had to change, but I know why they had to."

Optimists like Joseph Bort detect a faint glimmer of hope. "There is currently no constituency across the electorate for land-use planning, but one of these days we may see a spark in the state Senate," he daydreams. "There's a lot of provincialism we have not been able to overcome and that has placed the short term value over the long term benefit. Society doesn't react unless there's a crisis, and we haven't hit the crisis yet."

It is in this sense perhaps that regionalism is not so much a concept failed as one whose time has yet to arrive.

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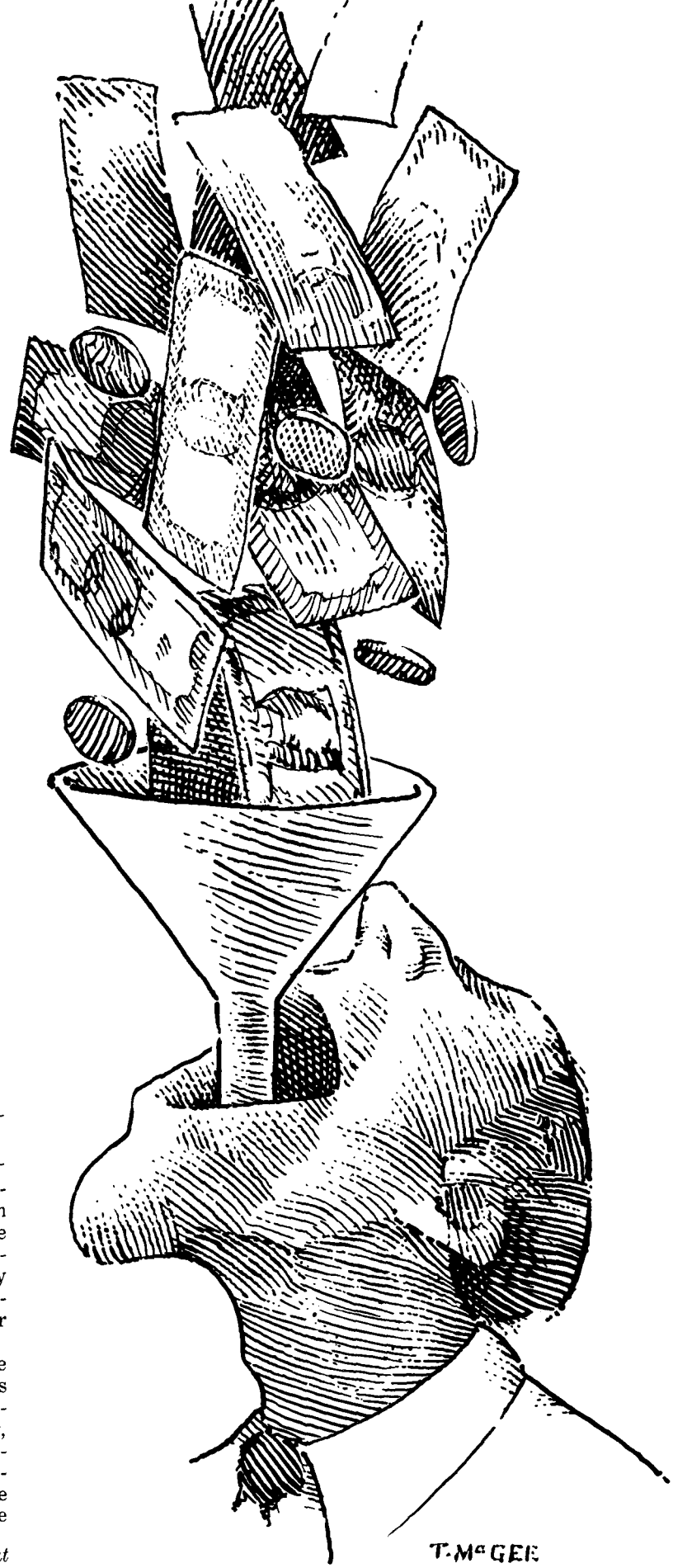

Campaign finance

The public wants reform

By J. THEODORE ANAGNOSON

Campaign-finance reform is like the weather. Everyone talks about it, but nothing much happens in the Legislature to change the way candidates raise money. Oh, there is hand-wringing and teeth-gnashing from incumbent lawmakers, and every year it seems a new campaign-finance reform proposal surfaces, only to be bottled up in committee or defeated.

But in truth, meaningful campaign reform proposals have about as much chance of surviving the legislative process as an iceberg has of surviving the South Pacific. Though individual legislators complain about the burden of fund raising, the current system provides too great an advantage for incumbents and for special-interest groups that often use campaign contributions to pry what they want out of the Legislature. Yet if public-opinion surveys are any guide, the

J. Theodore Anagnoson, a professor of political science at California State University, Los Angeles, worked on the 1984 Field survey.

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political winds blow steadily in favor of reform. However, when it comes down to public support for a particular proposal the public often gets stuck in the doldrums. Witness what happened to Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson's initiative in November 1984 — Proposition 40. A coalition of business interests and incumbent lawmakers poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into a media campaign that focused on one part of the measure polls revealed to be unpopular with the public — public financing of campaigns. Debate never went beyond that issue, and the Johnson measure went down.

So, what does John Q. Citizen think about the way incumbents and challengers finance campaigns?

In September 1984, two months before the November election, the Field Institute polled 1017 California voters in the most extensive survey ever taken on the subject of campaign-finance reform. Fifty questions were asked rather than the usual five to 10 questions. According to the results, the public has strong ideas about the way political campaigns are currently financed and about the shape of potential reforms.

Influence

Based on results of this Field poll, there is little doubt Californians consider their lawmakers beholden to those who give them campaign contributions. Nearly three-fourths of those polled characterized their own legislator as "very" or "somewhat" obligated to contributors. More than this, nearly half agreed that lawmakers favored contributors "to such an extent that his or her votes on legislation are unfair to the average person."

This cynicism doesn't mean that Californians themselves won't contribute to campaigns. According to the Field data, voters here are more likely to contribute to campaigns than are voters from almost any other state. Nationally, 20 to 30 percent of the public contributes in any given year, while in California 37 percent said they gave (46 percent of registered Republicans; 30 percent of registered Democrats).

Californians appear to be giving significantly more than in past years, as well. A 1978 *California Poll* found the median contribution to be $26. By 1984 the median had nearly tripled to $75. Democrats increased their median from $24 to $55, while GOP donations skyrocketed from $30 to $100. At the same time, small contributors were making less of an impact. Defined as those who gave less than $100, small contributions fell from 80 to 51 percent of total giving.

Most Californians know about political-action committees, but the electorate is split over whether PACs are good or bad for the political process (36 percent say, "good;" 42 percent think otherwise). At the same time, few seemed to have access to a PAC. For instance, only 14 percent of those surveyed said their employer had a PAC; only 8 percent said they were members of a union with a PAC. Those percentages may be understated, however, since many respondents weren't sure that their employer had or was affiliated with a PAC.

Money and influence

Perceived influence that various campaign contributors have on politics	Good influence	Bad influence	Qualified/ No opinion
Environmental groups	63%	19%	18%
Consumer groups	63	20	17
Candidates' own money	61	21	18
Organizations representing teachers	58	23	19
Women's political groups	58	24	18
Groups that favor farm workers	50	28	22
Groups that favor large farming interests	46	35	19
State employee organizations	44	35	21
Nuclear freeze organizations	44	39	17
Doctors and dentists	39	40	21
Politically conservative interest groups	36	41	23
Labor unions	36	47	17
Religious groups	30	48	22
Politically liberal interest groups	29	45	26
Trial lawyers	23	50	27
Bankers and insurance interests	23	56	21
Large companies	22	54	24
Interest groups outside of state legislators' district	20	56	24
Real estate interests	17	63	20
Legislative leaders transferring money to candidates in other districts	16	65	19

Source: *California Opinion Index*, February 1985

Reform

How would an initiative read if John Q. Citizen wrote it?

In general, the public (including both Republicans and Democrats) liked the idea of limiting contributions and expenditures. Half of those surveyed agreed there should be limits on what an individual gives a candidate or political cause. Only 30 percent thought there should be no limit. Nearly 85 percent would limit PAC contributions, and over three-fourths would put a cap on what campaign committees could raise and spend during an election.

The public was not so emphatic when it came to dipping into the public till to finance campaigns. About 60 percent said they would support a minimum level of public finance using tax dollars. Democrats liked this idea much more than did Republicans, with 70 percent support among Democrats and only 51 percent support from Republicans.

This level of support for public financing is considered "soft" and easily eroded, however. For instance, opponents of Proposition 40 based their media campaign almost exclusively on the threat that taxpayers would end up footing the bill for "politicians' " campaigns. This tactic succeeded despite Field's data which showed that 55 percent of the public thought some minimum public financing would give challengers a better chance of unseating incumbents. While this may seem contradictory, another survey question revealed that about two-thirds of the public disapproved of public financing because "it would mean that taxpayers would end up contributing to a campaign they don't necessarily approve of."

If anything, these seemingly opposite results indicate that the public is either ambivalent or confused about public financing and can be manipulated one way or the other by a strong media campaign.

Redistributing funds

Californians apparently don't like the idea of candidates giving money to other candidates. Fifty-five percent opposed the idea, while only 38 percent supported it. And it doesn't seem to matter if the money comes from the Assembly speaker or some other legislative leader. Asked if it was all right for state legislative leaders to redistribute funds to their party's Assembly and state Senate candidates, 49 percent said "no" and 43 percent "yes."

To emphasize that result, the Field survey asked respondents to rate 20 different interest groups as "good" or "bad"

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Johnson

Zelman

influences on the political system. Only 16 percent — the *lowest* rating among the 20 — felt that legislative leaders who raise and transfer money to other districts were a good influence (see box). The highest rating (63 percent) went to environmental and consumer groups, with "candidate's own money" close behind (61 percent).

The public also wants to know where all this campaign money comes from. A majority of 71 percent agreed that it was okay for candidates to raise as much money as possible if they publicly disclosed — during the campaign — how much they were raising and where it came from.

Is there room for reforming the campaign-finance system within the bounds of public opinion? The survey would indicate that the public supports reform if too much of their tax money doesn't have to pay for campaigns. Even public financing could be acceptable if linked to a meaningful reform proposal backed by legislative moderates from both parties.

But in recent years, efforts to gain public approval at the ballot box have fallen short. Assemblyman Johnson's Proposition 40 failed at the polls in 1984. And in 1986, a coalition of groups — including California Common Cause, the California Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters — tried to put yet another initiative before voters in November but failed to turn in enough valid signatures to place their proposal on the ballot. (They fell about 10 percent short of the 430,000 needed to qualify.)

That failure does not signify a weakening of the public's desire for reform, according to Common Cause Executive Director Walter Zelman. Zelman says the initiative didn't make it because a check by county registrars revealed too many invalid signatures among the 630,000 names turned in on petitions. Zelman is confident that a more careful search of the petitions can find the 6000 or 7000 additional valid signatures needed to qualify the measure for the June 1988 ballot. Even the possibility of a campaign-finance initiative spurred the Legislature to consider its own proposal for reforming the financing of political campaigns. But the bill, AB2681 sponsored by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, died a quiet death on the Assembly floor not long after the initiative failed to qualify. A cynic might suggest the two events were related, but a spokesperson for Speaker Brown denies any link. "We simply didn't have the votes to get it passed," said Susan Jetton, the speaker's press secretary. Zelman, however, hinted those votes might have materialized had the initiative made the ballot.

Whatever the source of reform — initiative or legislative process — the public seems ready for it.

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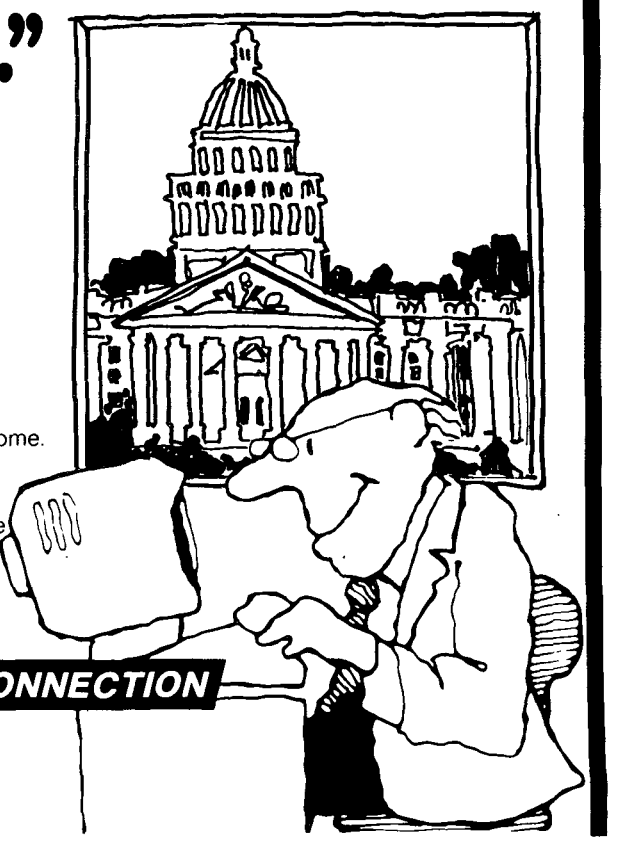

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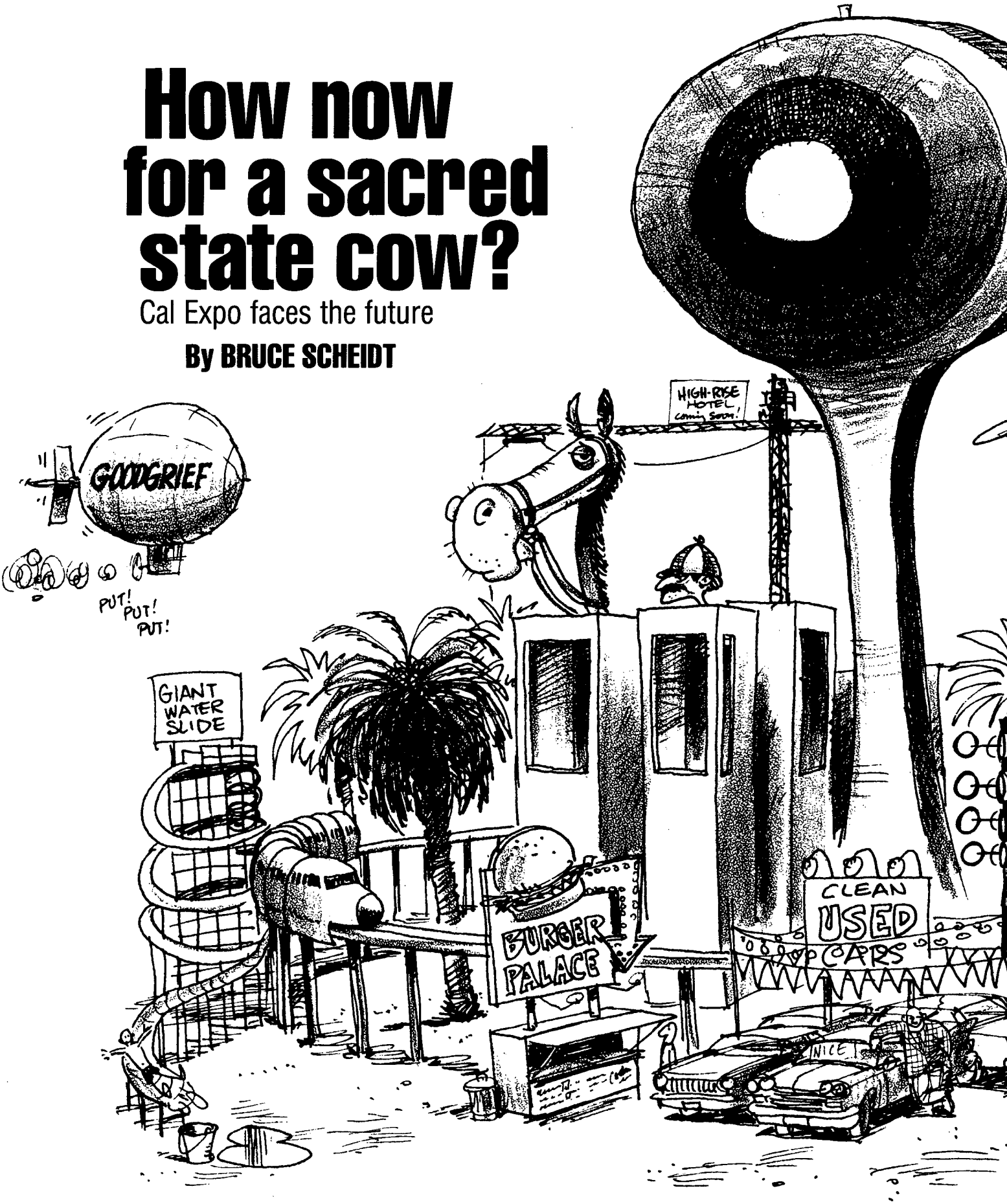
How now for a sacred state cow?

Cal Expo faces the future

By BRUCE SCHEIDT



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State legislators face three annoyances in life: a governor's veto, campaigning for re-election and the California Exposition and State Fair. Unlike the other two, the state fair is one frustration lawmakers can do something about.

A citizens' task force recently appointed by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has begun studying the 133-year-old state fair in preparation of an historical overview and recommendations for its future. Discussions will include the politically explosive question of whether the fair should be moved from Sacramento to a different region of the state on a rotating basis, and even whether the long tradition of the state exposition should be ended. The Assembly report is due out in December.

The Cal Expo complex — 350 acres of prime Sacramento real estate along the banks of the American River — serves as the state fair site for several weeks at the end of August. During the rest of the year, the fairgrounds host an eclectic mix of events that includes a water-fun park operating during summer months, harness racing, rock concerts, Christmas tree lots and home-improvement shows. It is run by a state agency with an $11 million budget and is supposed to be self-supporting. But the fair has never reached that goal. Deficits have run as high as $2.2 million per year, and the credibility of the fair's finances reached a low-point with the Legislature during the 1985-86 session.

It seems a distant memory from the time Cal Expo's most ardent proponent — former Governor Pat Brown — proclaimed it would become a year-round "California showcase," mixing fun and profit for an expanding and thriving state.

A biting auditor general's report last January pointed out some critical management problems under the previous Cal Expo administration. The report helped depose former General Manager Kirk Breed a month later and infuriated legislators.

Yet, despite past problems, there are indications Cal Expo is on the path to a healthy recovery. The flamboyant Breed has been replaced by Joe Barkett — a former deputy attorney general who brings a tough-minded, dollars-and-cents approach to the fair and to other revenue-producing activities at Cal Expo (see box, page 562). Barkett predicts that Cal Expo this year, for the first time ever, will not need a state general fund subsidy to meet its operating expenses — a big boost toward regaining credibility among skeptical lawmakers. Long-term maintenance will continue to require state assistance, however.

It will take time to overcome past embarrassments, especially after the auditor general's report which buckled Cal Expo's knees. While discovering no illegalities, state auditors found that Cal Expo under Breed's management failed to control its assets to prevent loss or theft, did not fully promote the rental of facilities between fairs and was negligent in following proper contracting procedures. Auditors discovered Cal Expo may have lost $100,000 from a WaterWorld contract because management did not monitor the contract.

"The budgetary process was terribly inadequate," Barkett said. "There was an awful lot of money that was being spent that was never approved."

"The Legislature wasn't getting a true story, or a full story," says Cal Expo board member Wayne Harbarger, an appointee of former Governor Jerry Brown. "If we couldn't figure out what was happening, they couldn't figure out what the hell was going on."

Former General Manager Breed admits, "I don't pretend

Bruce Scheidt is Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

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to be an accountant or a bookkeeper." But he says some of Cal Expo's current revenues, such as off-track betting on horse racing were not available to him. And Breed places much of the financial blame on the Deukmejian administration which, he claims, would not give him an adequate accounting staff. Breed says his problems were partially political: Breed is a Democrat, Deukmejian a Republican.

Barkett, who is close to Deukmejian's inner circle of advisers, insists Breed is wrong. "I don't want to get into a public debate with Kirk, but that's not the reason (for past deficits)," Barkett said. "We have budgeted realistically, and we're living within the budget."

A thimbleful of politics

It did not help Cal Expo's relations with legislators that Cal Expo's board, soon after the Legislature passed a $1.78 million emergency bail-out bill for Cal Expo, asked Deukmejian for a veto because the bill would have increased legislative control. Deukmejian vetoed the bill.

"What they (Cal Expo's directors) know about politics you could put in a thimble and get your finger in quite comfortable," says Senator Leroy Greene, a Sacramento Democrat and non-voting member of the Cal Expo board.

Breed, a dynamic promoter who became synonymous with the state fair itself, appearing in television ads himself, still casts a shadow over Cal Expo. Speaker Willie Brown hired him, at $27,300, to serve as a seven-month consultant to the Assembly task force studying the state fair. That raised immediate suspicions from Cal Expo's direction. Adding to Cal Expo's concerns, the Western Fairs Association, representing 160 fairs in North America, recently complained that a survey sent to the fair industry by the Assembly Office of Research (which is overseeing the task force study) "is misleading and obviously biased against the current administration of the state fair."

Clarence Williams of the Assembly Office of Research, project manager for the Cal Expo study, says there is a "certain amount of paranoia" coming from Cal Expo. He said Breed, a friend and horse-riding companion of Brown's, is simply making an historical study of the state fair and has no

Joseph Barkett, Duke's man in the saddle

Joseph Barkett is an unflappable, buttoned-down, rather bland-looking attorney. He admits to being something of a bore. As general manager of California Exposition and State Fair, Barkett is everything his predecessor — the flamboyant Kirk Breed — is not. But that is precisely why Barkett was chosen to save the troubled state fair.

A large, powerfully-built man, Breed became synonymous with the state fair itself. A raconteur and world-class promoter, Breed could tell stories that captured his listeners. When he wasn't holding court, Breed could attract an audience just by riding around the fairgrounds on one of his horses. But as the top administrator of Cal Expo, Breed looked better in cowboy hats than green eyeshades. He couldn't balance the books, running up annual budget deficits that alienated the Legislature and the Deukmejian administration.

Barkett is mindful of expenses as well as of promotions, and so far he is succeeding. It appears Cal Expo, an $11 million state agency, will not need a general fund subsidy from the Legislature this year — the first time it has run in the black in recent memory.

Barkett is doing well on the revenue side, as well. This year's state fair in August was the best attended in the 19-year history of the Cal Expo complex in Sacramento. Revenues topped $7 million, about $600,000 more than budgeted for the 18-day fair, even though the state's handle from horse racing and attendance at concerts were down.

"Cal Expo was in a lot of trouble," Barkett said. "I don't think many people realize how close the state fair came to being moved away from here."

Barkett, ironically, was recruited by Breed. He had no sooner left the state Department of Justice as a deputy attorney general three years ago than Breed asked him to serve part-time as Cal Expo's general counsel. Barkett took the job, he admits, hoping it would help the private law practice he was trying to build with another Sacramento attorney.

When it became apparent in February 1985 that Breed, an appointee of former Democratic Governor Jerry Brown, had lost the confidence of a Cal Expo board dominated by appointees of Republican George Deukmejian, Breed decided to accept the board's offer of a temporary consulting contract in lieu of being fired. The board could not immediately find a suitable replacement and asked Barkett to take the reins on a temporary basis.

"The board of directors and Kirk both felt comfortable with me," Barkett said. "I did not apply for the job, nor did I seek it." Barkett remains general manager, his salary recently raised to $72,456 per year, and the board has quit looking for a permanent replacement.

"I'm certainly committed through the next fair," Barkett said. "I guess I took the hook. I knew what an enormous undertaking it would be. As long as the fair is interesting and challenging as it is now, I'll stay with it."

Despite the financial problems, Breed's critics concede he served the fair well for a period after he was appointed general manager in 1979. But Cal Expo evolved, and the changes required new management skills he did not have.

"It was like coming out of the Truman presidency and going into Eisenhower," says Wayne Harbarger, a Brown appointee to the Cal Expo board. "Kirk was never evil. Kirk took the fair from the riot-ridden mess to where it was safe, secure family fun. It took someone with Kirk's personality to do that. A nice, solid businessman couldn't have done that."

Barkett, the married father of two boys, says he has one of the most political posts in state government. Luckily for him, he still has a law partnership he can return to; thus he is able to make decisions in Cal Expo's long-term interests without worrying about short-term political consequences. For example, he has been trying to work out a deal to lease part of Cal Expo's property to private developers who would like to build a hotel and commercial office buildings at the fairgrounds.

"This job is not something I have to rely on for the rest of my career," Barkett said. "It's a nice position to be in."

— Bruce Scheidt

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role in its future. "I haven't received any direction from anybody who's saying, 'Let's get the state fair,' " Williams said.

Cal Expo's future is probably in its own hands. It will survive as long as it does not run up continual budget deficits, critics say.

The biggest boost toward fiscal self-sufficiency was legislative authorization of satellite horse wagering last year, allowing horse players to bet on races held elsewhere in Northern California. The simulcasts of these horse meets accounted for $2 million of Cal Expo's $13.4 million in revenues last fiscal year, the biggest source of funds after the state fair itself, which brought in $6.8 million. Other non-fair revenues come from trade shows, night harness racing and rock concerts.

Contracts with Bay Meadows and Golden Gate Fields (in the San Francisco Bay area) will expire next year, and Barkett anticipates some tough negotiations to get the private tracks to assume more responsibility in paying for the costs of the simulcasts. Barkett also fears that a 1986 bill that expanded the Bay Meadows meet in San Mateo will cut into live horse racing at the state fair next August.

Failed expectations

There is no debate that Cal Expo will never be the success story that was once predicted for it. When Cal Expo opened in 1968 in what were once sheep-grazing lands north of the American River, there were promises it would become an elaborate amusement park — the "Disneyland of the North," it was called. Plans were laid out for a championship golf course, a marina, a Grand Prix auto-racing course, and a water-sports complex.

It is an unfulfilled dream.

Cal Expo was put on paper during the administration of Governor Pat Brown. His successor, Ronald Reagan, did not have the same passion for the state's involvement in the entertainment business, and when huge cost overruns and early operating deficits piled up, Reagan scaled back the proposal. Reagan sold 300 acres of the original 1000 acres planned for Cal Expo. The golf course, aquatic recreational center, Grand Prix race circuit and many of the theme-park facilities were never finished.

Attendance never materialized as anticipated. The first year's attendance in 1968 was predicted to be 1.5 million, but the paid gate was less than a fourth of that during a 58-day run. The state fair has not developed into even the biggest fair in California. The Los Angeles County Fair in Pomona, Del Mar Fair in San Diego and Santa Clara County Fair in San Jose are all bigger. Nationally, its 1985 attendance ranked 42nd, although this year's paid attendance rose 10 percent, to 616,719 — a record at the 19-year-old Cal Expo complex.

In fact, the fair has always had something of a schizophrenic personality. In the past it has promoted a variety of midway rides, but these never matched the quality of rides at major theme parks and also attracted a younger crowd that scared away families. In an effort to restore some of the family appeal, this year's fair expanded its agricultural exhibits and featured new television commercials — sans Breed or Barkett — with the slogan, "Your memories are here."

But efforts to restore a more normal, homespun approach to the fair backfired in at least one area. The fair's traditional fine arts competition this year was restricted to entries that were "realistic" in appearance — part of an effort to weed out some of the more avant-garde work of past years that a survey said has befuddled some fair-goers — only to be greeted by a chorus of loud protests from the arts community.

Some have criticized the cold, impersonal look of the new Cal Expo and say they miss the folksy, tree-shaded setting of the old fairgrounds about 10 miles away (since torn down). Cal Expo's architecture is dominated by eight stark, concrete

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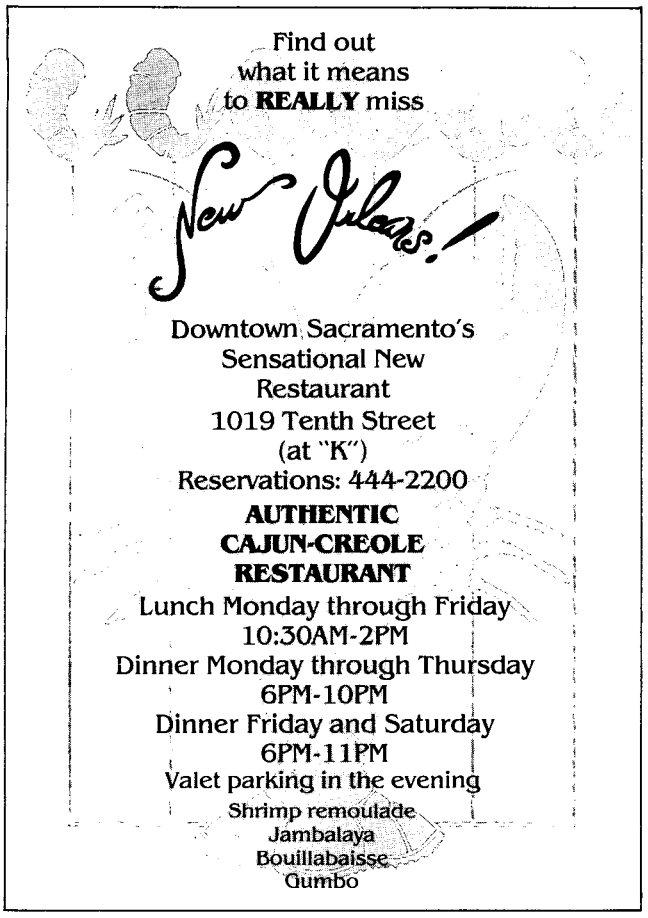

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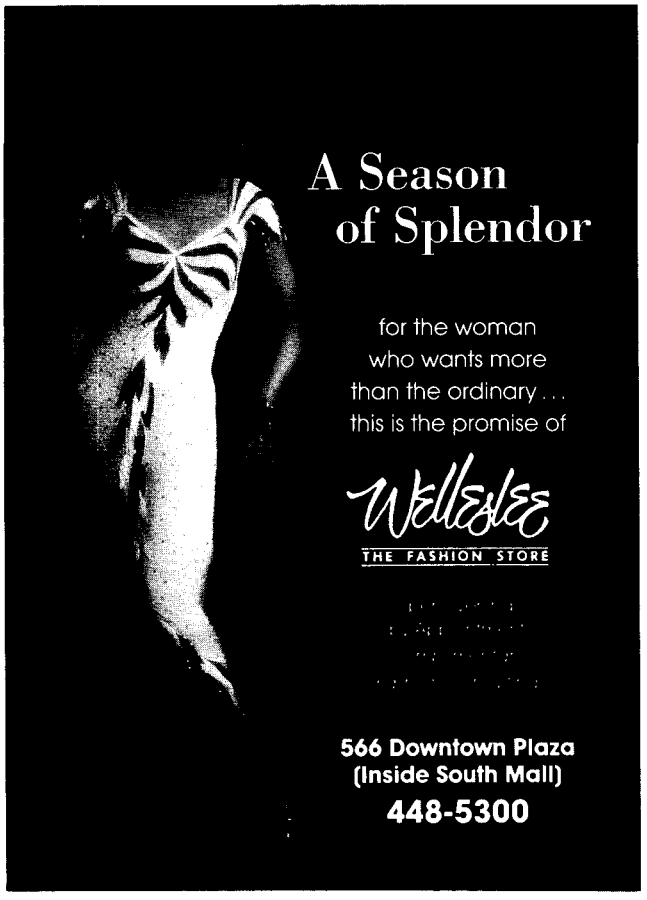

buildings which look like Stonehenge from a distance. Trees have yet to fully mature, making it uncomfortably hot during fair time in August.

"It's been a controversial style," acknowledges Judy King, Cal Expo's program manager. "I like it. It kind of grows on you."

Critics say the state fair is a county fair by any other name. Breed partially agrees, saying "There's nothing different at Cal Expo than what you see at county fairs."

It is, like most county fairs, a tribute to agriculture, California's top industry. Some would like it to resemble a theme park like Disneyland or Universal Studios, but state law requires the state fair to keep to its agricultural roots.

King said she gets frustrated hearing the same complaints about the fair's attractions. "When we ask people. 'What expectations aren't being met?' People aren't sure what we're not doing."

She said the state fair this year had nine educational exhibits not found at any county fair, ranging from an "Imagination 86" exhibit that featured creative inventions and holography to examples of fish farming and plants thriving without soil. There also were competitions between county fair winners.

A critic, Senator Greene of Sacramento, says, "Cal Expo does not express the splendor that is California. Tell me the story of California, the relationship between banks, agriculture and water systems that brings food to the table, for example."

Fairs are viewed by the general public as a good entertainment value, ranking in popularity just behind theme parks but ahead of live music concerts, sporting events and horse racing, according to a Cal Expo marketing survey prepared this year by MSI International. But unless you live in the Sacramento area, chances are you will never visit the state fair. The marketing survey found that 43 percent of those polled in the Sacramento area had visited the state fair in the last three years. But just 16 percent from the rest of Northern California and only 5 percent from Southern California had visited the state fair in the last three years.

That is a major reason why some Southern California legislators would like to do away with Cal Expo. Fullerton Assemblyman Ross Johnson calls Cal Expo "a thumping white elephant" and says if lawmakers could vote by secret ballot Cal Expo would have been sold a long time ago.

Santa Ana Assemblyman Richard Robinson, who is running for Congress this year, authored the Assembly resolution creating the Cal Expo task force. He carried two bills in past years to abolish Cal Expo but both were buried, he says, under the weight of a close-knit Sacramento legislative delegation and McClatchy Newspapers, publisher of the *Sacramento Bee*.

"I want the task force to look at all the possibilities," Robinson said. "For the 12 years I've been up here, it's been a total drain on the general fund."

Sure to be controversial will be any suggestion to move the state fair to other locations, and certainly any call to end it. But there is precedent: 12 other states do not have state fairs, and several more have regional state fairs.

Greene said proposals to move the state fair "don't make a helluva lot of sense" because of the huge expense developing the $33 million Cal Expo facilities. The state last year finally paid off a $13 million revenue bond which helped pay for Cal Expo's construction.

Barkett, Cal Expo's general manager, says the tradition of the 133-year-old state fair is tied to its Sacramento location. "This is the state Capital," he says.

And for those who say Sacramento is too far from population-heavy Southern California, Barkett observes, "It doesn't matter where you put the fair, it's going to be a long way for most people to travel."

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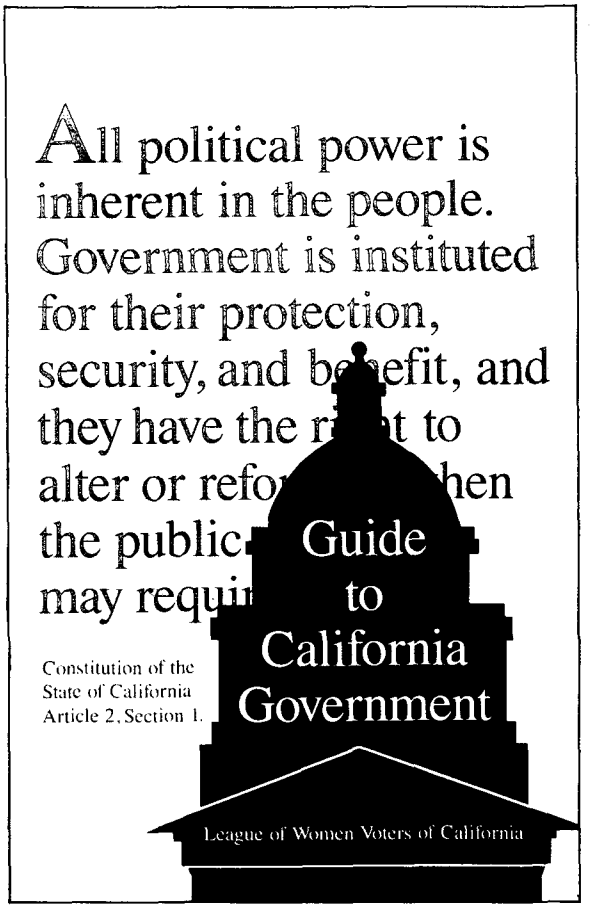
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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Reagan at Reykjavik

Ronald Reagan, who thrives on California's warm breezes, traveled to frigid Iceland near the Arctic Circle and ended up with a new deep-freeze chapter in U.S.-Soviet relations. When the chips were down — and these were chips that included the world's most awesome nuclear arsenals — the president was not willing to cash in his top-priority "Star Wars" program for deep cuts in offensive weapons. Both Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev went home empty-handed. Each left with a bitter aftertaste, thrown off stride by the summit's collapse just when major arms-reduction breakthroughs seemed within grasp.

The grand failure at Reykjavik carries special implications for Ronald Reagan's homestate because California is both the prime scientific incubator for "Star Wars" and a perennial spawning ground of peace activists eager for progress in arms control. By tearing away the curtain from esoteric arms negotiations and exposing the real choices for a superpower deal, Reykjavik was bound to bring into sharper focus the great divide between California's fervent hawks and equally fervent doves.

It's difficult to think of another large state with such a profound dichotomy on the great war-and-peace issues debated at Reykjavik. California is the pre-eminent home of the military-industrial complex and the nuclear freeze. Its congressional delegation is polarized between conservative hard-liners and liberal critics of Reagan's arms policies. The collapse of the Reykjavik summit is apt to exacerbate these divisions — even though many Democrats were careful in their post-mortem comments not to tangle with Reagan directly before the elections.

"Star Wars" — the great sticking point at Reykjavik — has turned into a growing economic bonanza for many California high-tech firms, research laboratories and university scientists. The lion's share of the research money has flowed into California and created a powerful political constituency to lobby for continued support of Reagan's vision of a space-based shield against nuclear missiles.

When Reagan proposed "Star Wars" in 1983, the federal government was quietly spending about $1 billion a year in research on exotic missile-defense possibilities. For this fiscal year, Reagan requested $5.3 billion. Congress, which likes the pork-barrel fallout but remains unconvinced about the feasibility of an impregnable "astrodome" in the sky, balked at full funding in the face of record budget deficits. But the lawmakers approved $3.5 billion — an increase of about $500 million over 1986 levels. "Star Wars" now is the single biggest strategic project in the Pentagon's development budget. Estimates of ultimate costs are astronomical — at least $50 billion for research and engineering and $500 billion to $1 trillion to get all systems tested, produced and deployed. With California in line to get a big share of these expenditures, it should come as no surprise that the state now harbors some of "Star Wars"' most fervent champions.

But economics is not the only drawing card. Reagan's tough anti-Communist position, including his view of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire," has deep roots in California and meshes with the state's rightward ideological tilt since he became governor 20 years ago. As the post-war frontier for technological innovations, the homebase for space and weapons development, California also has more than its share of scientists and engineers genuinely excited about the challenge of "Star Wars."

Arrayed against this coalition is another important California political and cultural strain that strives for superpower detente and agreements with the Soviet Union that might reverse the arms race and put the nuclear genie back in the bottle. There are urban liberals who want more butter than guns, environmentalists prophesying about the potential devastation of a nuclear conflagration and even a few Reagan supporters who hoped that his enormously expensive military buildup would produce an arms agreement.

As the full effects of Reykjavik become apparent in coming months, California is bound to be a major arena for debate of national-security and foreign-policy issues in the post-Iceland world. Was Reagan right not to blink or did he fumble the ball? Is there still hope for an arms deal and another summit while Reagan is in office? And, for that matter, what looms beyond Reagan? Starting with Reykjavik, Gorbachev has begun to opt for a post-Reagan strategy even while he professes that arms talks can continue.

At home, Reykjavik immediately cast its shadow on the 1988 presidential elections. On the GOP side, Vice President George Bush defended and embraced Reagan's performance at the summit. On the right, Congressman Jack Kemp of New York expressed relief that Reagan didn't blink but now wants the president to accelerate deployment of "Star Wars." On the Democratic side, Senator Gary Hart of Colorado said Reagan threw away a great opportunity for a major arms deal.

California's senior senator, Democrat Alan Cranston, who was fighting for political survival when Reagan returned from Reykjavik, voiced great disappointment, but pointedly refrained from criticising the president. As a leading advocate of arms control, Cranston predicted a post-summit era of heightened tensions between the superpowers. "We enter a new era where we have greater dangers instead of lesser dangers," he said. "An opportunity to make a major breakthrough in arms control and reducing the dangers of nuclear war has been lost. It's hard to assess the blame. Both countries had a sticking point and they held to it. We lost an opportunity for the end of nuclear arms in Europe and a 50 percent reduction worldwide, an easing of the tensions, and probably the release of a lot of people held in the Soviet Union."

Republican Senator Pete Wilson applauded Reagan for his "wisdom and courage" in rejecting Gorbachev's demand to jettison "Star Wars" as the price of an arms-reduction deal. Wilson said Gorbachev tried to "set up" Reagan with an impossible choice — give up "Star Wars" or shoulder the blame for the summit's failure. But Wilson predicted that the Soviets' tactic would backfire — with Reagan rebounding from Reykjavik and the Kremlin having no option but to get back to the Geneva arms talks.

Even before the president left for Iceland, Wilson joined a group of conservative hard-liners who sent Reagan a letter urging the quickest possible deployment of an interim "Star Wars" system. As Reagan contemplates his next moves, this will be one of the most interesting tests of his post-Reykjavik approach to arms control — whether to harden his position as demanded by the right or to leave enough maneuvering room to prevent a total break with Moscow.

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